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Frontispiece

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China of the Chinese

By
E. T. C. Werner

H.B.M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW (RETIRED);
BARRISTER-AT-LAW, MIDDLE TEMPLE

AUTHOR OF
"DESCRIPTIVE SOCIOLOGY—CHINESE," ETC.

NEW YORK
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PREFACE

THE history of China may be broadly divided into two equal parts—the Feudal period and the Monarchical period. Each of these lasted twenty-one centuries. Subject to the qualification presently to be mentioned, the duration in both cases was exactly 2,136 years. The reign of the Great Yao, the first authentic ruler of China, began in 2357 B.C. The feudal system which obtained from that time and became more definite and developed under the Kings of Chou, ended in 221 B.C. From 221 B.C. to A.D. 1915—counting in the four years, A.D. 1912–1915, during which the Republic, though nominally established, was not consolidated—the monarchical form of government prevailed.

Of course, these two main divisions admit of sub-division, but for the purpose of the present work they will serve very well. Anyone who at this time undertakes to give a description of "China of the Chinese," is confronted with this difficulty:—The period covered by the rule of the Manchu Monarchy, generally known as the Great Ch'ing Dynasty (A.D. 1644–1912), recently concluded, would belong to "China of the Manchus" rather than to "China of the Chinese." Moreover, considering the enormous number of existing works dealing with that period, to write another on the same plan would, to say the least, be superfluous, unless the treatment were original or the subject or sub-period one not yet adequately dealt with. Whereas, to write a book dealing with the four or five years since the overthrow of the Manchu supremacy, during which things have been formulating, but have not yet formulated themselves, would be like writing the life-history of an infant still in its cradle.

I have therefore adopted a plan which not only avoids these difficulties but is, I submit, in itself sociologically

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justifiable. I have endeavoured first, to describe the Chinese national life in its earlier phase—its birth, childhood, adolescence, and coming of age—and then to indicate the changes which that life underwent during the second phase—its full-grown and fully-expanded manhood, which continued until the nation decided to reform its life as hitherto lived. Reckoning centuries as years, these two periods of China's life take her from birth to 20, and from 20 to 40 respectively. She has now entered upon the third great phase of her national existence—one which cannot but be pregnant with vital issues, profoundly affecting both herself and the world in general. Respecting this phase, I have added to most of the sections a few remarks indicating as far as possible what changes have already occurred.

The above general plan, with its broad outlines, represents neither the popular nor the academical method of viewing Chinese history. The former pictures a misty past, in which figures of the great Patriarchs and great Sages, the Builder of the Great Wall and Burner of Books, with here and there a chivalrous hero, are dimly discerned, and later epochs, of which the knowledge is also misty, known as "Augustan Ages" of Chinese literature and poetry, all of which are completely overshadowed by the modern periods of foreign intercourse and foreign wars, openings for trade and robbing of territory which, though of historical value, are accorded too large a space in the picture to constitute it a properly-proportioned representation of the whole of Chinese history.

Votaries of the latter method, while not escaping this pitfall of want of perspective are, moreover, one and all open to the charge of treating history unscientifically. They are obsessed by the "struggle-and-conquest," the "wars-and-changes-of-dynasties" aspects of history rather than by the world-wide and permanent causes and effects which make up the life of a people. The histories hitherto written have been political rather than sociological in character, and give us long, wearisome lists of dynasties and insipid accounts of

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wars and battles, political intrigue, plot and counter-plot, with most of the things that matter left out of the account altogether. Writers unable to consult the original Chinese sources naturally find this result difficult to avoid, for all the existing histories in foreign languages are either unscientific or out of proportion, or both. Professor Herbert H. Gowen, Lecturer on Oriental History at the University of Washington, in his *Outline History of China*, recently published in two volumes of 200 pages each, recognizes this defect ; since he says in his preface : " Chinese history has almost invariably been treated from the point of view of foreign relations, with the result that a few pages have sufficed for the four millenniums prior to the Manchu occupation, while hundreds of pages have been used to discuss (from a foreign point of view) the events of the past few decades." Yet we find the first of these two volumes devoted to Chinese history from the beginning of the mythical ages to the end of the Ming Dynasty, a period of more than 4,500 years, and the second to the history from the Manchu conquest in 1644 to the recognition of the Republic in 1913, a period of only 269 years ! In another work in English by a Chinese author, Mr. Li Ung Bing, exactly the same proportion is observed, one-half of a volume of 600 pages being devoted to the Manchu Dynasty and the other half to the enormously long period which preceded it. These works have their intrinsic value, but a properly-proportioned history of the Chinese people has yet to be written. Careful study of that history reveals the fact that, just as the influences to which youth is subject largely determine the character for the rest of life, so did the Feudal period leave its impress upon the Chinese nation for at least two thousand years. During that period the Chinese nation was growing up in its home ; during the Monarchical period it spread further afield. According to the popular view, China became active to any great degree only after the beginning of foreign intercourse, but in reality its most significant activities took place during these two

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periods, and, contrary to the general impression, during the Feudal as much as during the Monarchical. During the former, the activity was no less real or important, because it was chiefly formative in character.

This fact has not hitherto been properly appreciated. Fully to understand China of the Chinese, we must study both its youth and its manhood, note the changes which took place during each, and endeavour to grasp the true significance of those changes. China has now, apparently once for all, put off the garment of monarchism with its lining of feudalism; and any superficial opinion, lightly expressed, regarding the probable results of this act, is sure to be disproved by the course of events, so long as it omits to take into account both the true nature of the garment and the fact that whether its style be feudal, monarchical, or republican, there has all the time been the same nature underneath.

My labours in the field of Sinology have been mainly sociological. Since completing the *Descriptive Sociology—Chinese*, the first work presenting the phenomena of the Chinese civilization—its morphology, physiology, and development—in a complete and scientific form, and the outcome of many years of arduous toil, my studies have been concentrated on the superstructure. The method of investigation involves the combination of two processes, which may best be explained by the simile of a building composed of several floors each containing many rooms, such as a large house or hotel. In describing such a building completely, we may begin with the first room on the ground floor, then proceed to the corresponding room on the first floor, then that on the second floor, and so on until we reach the top, then beginning again with the second room on the ground floor, we may in like manner trace it up through the several floors, and so on, until all the rooms of all the floors have been described. By the second process, we first describe all the rooms on the ground floor, then all on the first floor, then all on the second

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floor, and so on, until we reach the top floor, or that most recently constructed.

If, in this simile, for the rooms we substitute departments of sociological phenomena, and for the floors phases or periods of history, we see that complete knowledge of the whole structure requires us thoroughly to understand each class of phenomena as it has taken root and evolved, and each phase of history as the outcome of these classes of phenomena; their co-existence and sequence, and action and reaction on one another. In this way we are enabled to give a full account of the whole structure and of its life-history as far as it has gone.

The small work herewith issued is an attempt to treat each class of phenomena in the Chinese social structure from its earliest beginnings to its latest developments. I have made it in the hope that a short summary of a long life-history like that of China may be useful to those who have neither time nor inclination to study the whole record in detail. Having lived in China—north, central, and south—for 30 years, and having been an eye-witness of many of the events described and the changes which have taken place; having also for most of that time given special attention to sociological studies; and being wholly unbiased except in favour of the truth, and nothing but the truth, I may perhaps have been able to treat the subject in a more scientific manner than any hitherto attempted, and at least to avoid errors of the kind which superficial, sensational, or prejudiced writers on China have so frequently imposed upon the Western world.

Of course a small treatise on the scale of the present book cannot be more than a brief summary or imperfect sketch, of which much must be left for detailed treatment in a more elaborate work. But, as a map is useful for giving in miniature a bird's-eye view of the country it represents, so I may peradventure be allowed to hope that this small book will serve to give a general idea of the morphological and

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physiological development of a community comprising one-quarter of the world's inhabitants, whose long and unique life presents some of the most fascinating problems to be found in the whole history of mankind.

EDWARD THEODORE CHALMERS WERNER.

PEKING.

[*Note.*—This work does not profess to take account of the very latest developments, which, it is felt, are still in such a state of uncertainty that it would be premature to pronounce any definite judgment on them at the present stage.]

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China of the Chinese

CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENTS AND CHARACTERS

THE history of nations being largely determined by the characters of the people composing them and the nature of the surroundings in which they live, it will be necessary, in order to obtain a clear idea of the Chinese type and the various phases of its social development, to glance briefly at the country of China and the physical, emotional, and intellectual traits of its inhabitants.

Inorganic Environment. General Features.

The portion of the earth's surface known as China now occupies an area of more than 5,000,000 square miles in the east of Asia, between 20° and 50° north latitude and 80° and 130° east longitude. This includes China Proper, or the Eighteen Provinces, and the outlying possessions of Manchuria, Mongolia, Ili (comprising Sungaria and Eastern Turkestan), Koko-nor, and Tibet. We shall see in the next chapter that originally the Chinese occupied but a relatively small portion of this huge area, or even of China Proper. The latter measures about 1,474 miles from north to south, and about 1,355 from east to west, is situated between 18° and 40° north latitude and 98° and 122° east longitude, and has an area of about 2,000,000 square miles, being bounded on the north by Mongolia, on the west by Tibet and Burma, on the south by Burma, Tongking, and the China Sea, and on the east by the China Sea, Pacific Ocean, and Yellow Sea. This area is almost rectangular in form and of varied elevation, sloping generally from west to east. The north presents a large plain, the west is generally mountainous, the south

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and east consist of level plains interspersed with hills. There are three chief ranges of mountains, the Pei Ling, Yün Ling, and Nan Ling ; three rivers of the largest size (the Huang Ho, or Yellow River, in the north, the Yang Tzŭ River in the centre, and the Hsi Chiang, or West River, in the south), and about thirty of considerable importance. These, with their numerous tributaries, reach every part of the country ; there are six large, and several smaller lakes ; with many swamps and marshes.

The great plains of China are alluvial, resting upon granite, new red sandstone, or limestone. A large portion of Northern China is covered by the loess formation, which stretches westward from the borders of the great north-eastern plain as far as Koko-nor and the head-waters of the Yellow River, covering the parallelogram enclosed between longitudes 99° and 115° and latitudes 33° and 41°. This deposit, varying from 10 to 1,000 feet in depth, has been formed by accumulations of dust blown from the deserts of Central Asia and hardened into brownish or yellow earth by the rain and snow of North China. Its vertical cleavage gives rise to multitudinous clefts intersecting the surface of the ground in every direction. These vary from small shallow cracks to cañons half a mile wide and hundreds of feet deep, the bottoms of which are often used as roads and the terraced sides cultivated (the loess deposit being exceedingly fertile), or excavated for habitations. The deep gullies would obviously render travel on the surface impossible or exceedingly laborious, and in any case traffic would soon wear away the loess, owing to its soft nature, the loose dust being blown away by the wind ; so the roads in these regions are often a very considerable distance below the surface of the ground. Large masses of loess are constantly falling or being washed by rain into the rivers and carried down towards the sea. In very early times what is now known as the Gulf of Pei-chih-li (Peh-chi-li on English maps) extended much farther inland, covering

Geological Features. Loess Formation.

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the site of Peking and reaching probably to the foot of the Western Hills. The loess deposits, carried down by the rivers and also blown directly by the wind, are probably the chief reason why the coast-line has receded to its present position, and may eventually practically obliterate the Pei Ho and convert Tientsin into an inland place inaccessible to vessels coming from the sea, unless the river be artificially conserved.

In the south the geological succession is first granite, and then grits and slates; these are covered by old limestones, supporting another series of limestone strata. Generally, in the south we find older, and in the north newer, rocks; and from east to west a similar series of rocks is found, the granites being overlaid by crystalline schist, gneiss and quartzites, over which again lie carboniferous beds, with patches of oolitic rock yielding fossil fishes. In the west and south some volcanic features are perceptible. The chief minerals are coal and iron. Gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, jade, etc., are also mined. A few fossil remains have been found, but petrifactions, so far as is yet known, are rare.

Geological Succession in South.

In so vast a country as China, which, including its dependencies, is considerably larger than Europe and about the same size as Australia, we naturally find a great variety of climate. In the north the winter is long and rigorous, the summer hot and dry, the mean temperature being 52.3° F. and the extremes 110° above and 20° below zero F. In the south the summer is long, hot and moist, the mean temperature being 70° F. and the extremes 112° and 29° above zero. The extremes, of course, are rarely recorded. Owing to the moisture-laden atmosphere in the south, a temperature of 80° is less tolerable than one of 100° in the north. Along the coast the summer heat is tempered by refreshing monsoons. Disastrous typhoons blow periodically between July and October in the maritime region south of 32° north latitude. The temperature of China is generally low for the latitude.

Climate.

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The mean rainfall in the north is 16, and in the south 70 inches, with variations in other parts.

The vegetal productions are abundant and most varied. About 7,000 species of plants are known, and more will doubtless be discovered. Forests are now rare, but there is a very great diversity of resinous plants, flowering shrubs and evergreens. From north to south we may note a gradual progression from the temperate flora of Mongolia and Manchuria to the tropical vegetation of Indo-China. In the central districts the northern and southern species intermingle: we see the oak with the bamboo, wheat and maize with sugar, cotton, and rice. Owing to the even distribution of the rainfall there is an extremely regular succession of seasons favourable to methodical agriculture. There is a noticeable absence of meadows and pasture-lands, especially in the south, where the land is covered with paddy-fields to such an extent that roads are mostly reduced to mere bridle-paths and the sides of the hills are terraced in order to find room for more crops. Besides those mentioned, the productions comprise barley, millet, and other cereals, the bean, yam, sweet and common potatoes, tomato, egg-plant, cabbage, ginseng, indigo, cotton, hemp, silk, tea, sugar, pepper, camphor, tobacco, varnish, ground nuts, poppy, water-melon, ginger, and other medicinal plants, and dye-woods. Among fruit trees are the apple, pear, orange, lemon, grape, date, peach, plum, apricot, fig, cherry, mulberry, pumelo, persimmon, lichi, pomegranate, pineapple, chestnut, cocoanut, mango, banana, etc. There is in most parts excellent timber for shipbuilding and carpentry.

Organic Environment. Vegetal.

As we shall see in the next chapter, China was, in early times, covered with dense forests full of wild animals. Most of the former and many of the latter have disappeared, but the species of fauna are still numerous and abundantly represented. There are now no lions, but we find the tiger, panther, leopard,

Animal.

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tiger-cat, sable, civet, tree-civet, weasel, stoat, marten, otter, lemur, ape, several varieties of monkeys, brown bear, black bear, wolf, fox, racoon, badger, 27 or more species of ruminants, and many species of rodents. The elephant, rhinoceros, and tapir are said still to exist in the forests and swamps of Yünnan. The commonest domestic animals are the horse and ox (dwarfish), ass, mule, camel (in north), water-buffalo (in south), sheep, goat, pig, cat, and dog. Fowls, ducks, and geese are very abundant. Of birds there are about 700 species, including the vulture, eagle, kite, falcon, sparrow-hawk, night-hawk, swallow, kingfisher, cuckoo, hoopoe, bee-eater, nuthatch, wren, chat, peacock, parrot, mina, woodpecker, crow, pigeon, magpie, lark, thrush, canary, nightingale, gold, silver and other pheasants, partridge, grouse, teal, quail, sand-piper, curlew, plover, crane, heron, egret, ibis. Of fish, there are more than 1,000 different kinds, the ichthyology of China being among the richest in the world. In some parts of the south it is said that one can have a different kind of fish for breakfast every day in the year, though this would include some kinds eaten by the Chinese, but not palatable to Europeans. In the seas, rivers, lakes, and marshes are found the mackerel, goby, herring, shark, ray, saw-fish, sturgeon, torpedo, cod, carp, tench, perch, pomfret, sole, mullet, shad, eel, bream, gudgeon, saurus (" silver-fish "), gold-fish, paradise-fish, as well as lobsters, mussels, crabs, oysters, etc., etc. Turtles, tortoises, snakes, frogs, etc., abound, and alligators are found in the Yang Tzŭ River. Beetles and insects too numerous to mention exist everywhere. The honey-bee and silkworm are extensively reared for commercial and industrial purposes.

Having noted the inorganic and the organic conditions amid which the Chinese live, let us now glance briefly at the different peoples by whom they are surrounded or with whom they come in contact. When the Chinese first arrived in China (having come, it is supposed, from the west or north-west), they found the

Sociological Environment in the Past.

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land inhabited by aboriginal tribes, which they gradually exterminated, absorbed, or drove to the south. Some are still to be found in Hunan, Kuangsi, Kueichou, Fukien, Chêkiang, and elsewhere. They constitute an interesting ethnological problem, as yet only partly investigated. From the third century B.C. onwards, the Chinese have had to contend with hostile nomads from the north. In the second century B.C. Chinese military activity opened up the west, and there was commercial intercourse with the Hsiung Nu, Northern Corea, and the Tunguses. During the first six centuries A.D., there was intercourse with Rome, Parthia, Turkey, Mesopotamia, Ceylon, India, Indo-China, and, in the seventh century, with the Arabs, with Tangut and with Southern Corea. From the tenth to the thirteenth century, the northern part of the empire was occupied by Tungusic invaders—Kitans and Nüchêns,—and for 88 years in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the whole empire was under Mongol sway. Though, between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries, there was a certain amount of commercial and religious intercourse with neighbouring nations, and from the eighteenth century onwards embassies were received from more distant countries, the Chinese, as a rule, avoided any relations with foreigners.

Modern Sociological Environment.

At the present time, China's neighbours on the north are the Russians in Siberia, on the west the Central Asian tribes and the British in Kashmere, and on the south the British in India and the Nepalese and other independent Indian races; also the Shan tribes, the Annamese (under France), the Burmese (under Britain), the Portuguese at Macao (since 1537), and the British at Hong Kong (since 1841). On the south-east are the Japanese (in possession of Formosa since 1910), and on the east the Coreans (under the Japanese since 1910) and Japan. The Chinese are also in contact with foreigners (chiefly British, French, Russians, and Japanese), living in concessions, settlements, etc., on the coast and rivers.

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Physical Characters.

The Chinese belong to the Mongolic type. The average stature is lower than that of Europeans, though much greater in the north than in the south, the men being from 5ft. 2in. to 5ft. 6in. in height, and the women about 4in. less. The complexion is pale yellow, tawny, or olive, ranging from light lemon or almost white in the north to deep brownish hues in the south. The shape of the head is brachycephalic, that is, round and short, rather than long or oblong when viewed from the front; the neck is short and thick-set; the facial angle is prognathous, being about 76 to 68 as compared with 82 to 76 in the ideal Caucasic type; the outline of the face is square, not oval, and the features angular and flattened, not rounded off; the cheek-bones are high and prominent; the forehead low, receding, and narrow. The weight of the brain is considerably below the average, the proportion of the cerebrum to the cerebellum being five to one as compared with eight-and-a-half to one in high Caucasian types. The eyes are almond-shaped, usually small, and more or less oblique upwards and outwards, with a vertical fold of skin over the inner canthus, the orbits far apart, and the iris invariably black. The ears are large and prominent. The nose is normally broad, square, and concave, but often large and straight, especially among the upper classes. The mouth is large, with thick lips. The chin is small and receding. The hands and feet are disproportionately small. The hair is black, lank, coarse, and cylindrical; the eyebrows straight and scanty; the beard scanty or absent, seldom appearing before the fortieth year. The expression is heavy, inanimate, and monotonously uniform.

Emotional Characters.

Emotionally the Chinese are mild, frugal, sober, gregarious, industrious, of remarkable endurance, but at the same time cowardly, revengeful, very cruel, unsympathetic, mendacious, thievish, and libidinous. They are taciturn, but spasmodically vehement. But they are also excessively courteous and

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ceremonious, with a great capacity for gratitude, and a very high sense of mercantile honour.

Intellectually the Chinese are non-progressive; though in modern times some have shown a desire for Western learning, most have always been and still are slaves to uniformity and mechanism in culture. They are unimaginative, imitative, lacking free individuality and creative power, slow in organizing, lacking reflection and foresight, vague in expression, unable to take a comprehensive grasp of a subject; they attach little importance to accuracy. They are also exceedingly suspicious and superstitious.

Intellectual Characters.

Regarding Chinese character as a whole, we find in it many traits common to races in early stages of development, such as the inferiority of size and structure, the larger alimentary system with smaller nervous power; a relative hardiness, with less acute sensations resulting from injurious actions than in the case of more highly developed types, and consequent weakness of the feelings prompting to effort and leading to improvement. With less plasticity of nature there is earlier maturity. The Chinese consciousness is relatively simple, exhibiting periodic impulsiveness, improvidence, little-developed altruistic sentiments—giving rise to lack of sympathy and to cruelty—and extreme conservatism. The Chinese mind is deficient in conceptions of general facts and distant results; its ideas are rigid and concrete rather than abstract, lacking definiteness and accuracy. The absence of constructive imagination is shown by the few inventions recorded during a very long national life.

Summary of Character.

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CHAPTER II

SUMMARY OF POLITICAL HISTORY

Origin of the Chinese.

THE origin of the Chinese people is still an unsolved problem. The theory of a Sumerian or Babylonian origin, and that which alleges the Chinese to have come from somewhere in Eastern Turkestan, seem more plausible than those which argue that the Chinese race came from the direction of Burma or originated in the country now inhabited by it. When we first hear of the Chinese they occupied but a comparatively small part of modern China, though they subsequently spread all over the vast territories until lately known as the Chinese Empire. It is not alleged by the Chinese themselves or by foreign historians that this was a re-conquest: it was an original conquest of the land from nature and from its aboriginal inhabitants. The Chinese have a tradition of a Western origin. If that should prove to be correct, we shall, no doubt, ultimately find that the Chinese originated somewhere in Mesopotamia, and not in Central Asia, because it has recently been discovered that the Khoten civilization was imported from the Punjab about the third century B.C., by which time the Chinese had been settled in China for more than two thousand years. But this provisional acceptance of the Mesopotamian origin of the Chinese will not rest on any such fallacies as the identification of the Chinese *Po hsing* (Cantonese *Pak-sing*), meaning "the people" (lit. "the hundred," *i.e.*, all the "surnames") with the Bak Sing tribes of Babylonia, or of the mythical Chinese Emperor Huang Ti with the Babylonian King Nakhunte, as has been argued by at least one writer. The ethnological and linguistic evidence on which it is based cannot, consistently with the purpose of this summary, be set forth in detail.

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Reliable Chinese history begins about the time of Yao the Great (2357 B.C.). Though Chinese historians have carried their records back for many thousand years before this date, little, if anything, can be regarded as authentic before it. In order to get a clear idea of the Chinese settlement in China, let us imagine a map of China absolutely blank, and some nomad tribes—the ancestors of the Chinese race—approaching from the west along the 40th parallel of latitude. Striking the head-waters of the Yellow River, they would follow its course, turning south at the great bend in longitude 111°, and settle in latitude 35°, where the present frontiers of Shansi, Shensi, and Honan come in contact. They may possibly have been able to cross large rivers and difficult mountain ranges, and so have followed a less circuitous route, but it is here that we find them as an organized society, possessing a considerable degree of civilization, at the dawn of their reliable history. They found the country covered with dense forests, full of wild animals and sparsely inhabited by aboriginal tribes. The former they gradually subdued; the aborigines they either absorbed, killed or gradually expelled. Remnants of these tribes still exist in the southern and south-western provinces. The Chinese also had to contend with the horse-riding nomads who constantly invaded their settlements from the north, and we shall see that these predatory incursions of hostile northerners constituted a continual danger throughout Chinese history. The first period was one of patriarchal chieftainship; but these rulers, and the kings who followed them during the next twenty-one centuries, did not extend their frontiers beyond the relatively small region covered by the modern province of Shansi with a small part of Eastern Shensi, the southern part of Chihli, and the strip of Shantung north-west of the Huang Ho (Yellow River). As far as the Chinese themselves were concerned, the rest of the map remained a blank for the whole

Beginning of History.

Hostile Tribes.

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of the period, that is, for about half of their entire history from the time of the Great Yao to the present date. In the second century B.C., this area was more than doubled, being extended to the Yellow Sea on the east, to the Yang Tzŭ River on the south, and to the Kialing River in about longitude 106° on the west. It was not until the Han period (about 200 B.C. to A.D. 200) that the Chinese established their sovereignty over practically the whole of what is now known as China Proper.

Expansion of Empire.

Manchuria became a portion of the Chinese Empire by submitting to the Emperor Wu Ti in the Han period, but, after being conquered by the Mongols in the thirteenth century, it was abandoned by them to the Chinese in 1388. In 1644, China may be said to have become a part of Manchuria, for the Manchus became its rulers, and remained so until 1912, when their dynasty gave place to a Chinese Republic.

Greater China.

Mongolia began to be incorporated with the Chinese Empire in 1388, when the Chinese drove the Mongols back to the Kerulun River and acquired that part of their territory lying south of the desert. The Chinese Emperor, Ch'êng Tsu, completed the subjugation of the whole country in 1410–14. After the overthrow of the Manchu power in China in 1912, Mongolia declared its independence, and the suzerainty of the Chinese sovereign in that country must at present be regarded as no more than nominal.

Chinese Turkestan (known also as Eastern Turkestan, Kashgaria, or Hsin Kiang, the New Dominion or New Territory), has been conquered and lost several times since the Christian era. It was subdued towards the end of the eighteenth century, detached for about 20 years by the revolt of Yakub Beg in 1866–7, and finally reconquered by the Chinese Viceroy, Tso Tsung T'ang, in 1877–8.

Tibet was conquered by China in A.D. 684, but threw off the yoke during the decline of the T'ang dynasty, being

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however reconquered in 1698–1703. It declared its independence in 1912, and its position is at present similar to that of Mongolia.

Greatest China.

At various times during her history China has owned territories which she now no longer possesses. From 73 to 48 B.C. all the peoples of Central Asia, from Japan to the Caspian Sea, were tributary to her. During subsequent ages Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Bengal, Cambel, Burma, Malacca, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Cochin-China, Cambodia, Annam, Tongking, Formosa, the Loochow (Liuchiu) Islands, and Corea have owned allegiance or paid tribute. The Chinese Empire has, on the whole, decreased in size during the last few centuries, having lost one possession after another, and it seems probable that this process will go on unless China can become strong enough to resist aggression, or unless Western nations should adopt more Christian and civilized methods of dealing with weaker peoples. She is surrounded on all sides either by conquered peoples ready to declare their independence or by those whose interests impel them to acquire some of her territory: the Manchus, Japanese and Russians in Manchuria, the Mongols and Russians in Mongolia, the British in Tibet, the French on the south, etc.

Having thus seen how the Chinese entered China, let us return to the beginning and observe more in detail the successive phases of their political history.

Feudal Period

Phases of Political History.

The Great Yao, the patriarch whom we may regard as the first authentic ruler of China, emerging from the mists of mythological history, ruled from 2357 to 2255 B.C. The comparatively small extent of his territory we have already noted. The Miao tribes, probably autochthonous, were serious rivals for the throne of the young kingdom, and it was only after many years (perhaps a century and a half) of severe fighting that

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the Chinese obtained a firm foothold in the land which was to be the theatre of their subsequent history. Yao's son being considered unworthy to succeed him, the chieftainship passed to Shun (2255–2205 B.C.), an agriculturist selected for his "brilliant virtues," and then to Yü (2205–2197 B.C.), who had been chosen by Shun as his associate and successor for his skill in draining off a great flood which threatened the destruction of the whole country. Yü founded the first Chinese dynasty. From his reign onwards, the succession became hereditary in the male line of the king's family, and this remained the rule throughout the national history until the institution of the republican form of government in 1912. Yü wished to follow the example of Yao and Shun, and select a worthy successor not of his own family, but both officials and people insisted upon his son being king after him. It is to be noted that it was thus the people who decided upon the sovereignty's being hereditary.

Yao, Shun, and Yü.

The conditions of these early colonies soon determined the form of a feudal kingdom. The ruler granted lands to his lords in return for service and aid when necessary. These territories, established here and there among the aborigines, formed the nuclei of provinces and states, governed on the same system as the central or "middle" kingdom, and, because the latter was still too weak to subdue all the hostile tribes, each state had its own military constitution. This, as we shall see, eventually led to very important results.

Feudalism.

The Hsia dynasty was brought to an end through the gross licentiousness of Chieh Kuei, the last king of the house, who wasted the public money and neglected affairs of State in order to indulge in revolting orgies and cruelties in company with Mei Hsi, a beautiful but wicked woman presented to him as a propitiatory gift by the Lord of Shih, who thereby averted a military expedition projected against him by Chieh. The

Hsia and Shang Dynasties.

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Shang dynasty (1766–1122 B.C.) was in a similar manner brought to an end by an unscrupulous and immoral monarch named Chou Hsin, also under the influence of a cruel and vicious woman, Ta Chi. By thus setting a bad example and neglecting the affairs of State, he was regarded as having incurred the displeasure of Heaven, which justified his murder and the extermination of his clan. Under this dynasty the tribe still dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Yellow River, but was frequently obliged to migrate on account of inundations. The capital was moved several times before its final transference in 1401 B.C. (some writers say 1399 B.C.) by P'an Kêng to Po, also called Yin Po, or Shan, identified with the modern Yen Shih, in the modern province of Honan. The former sites had been rendered unsafe through proximity to the Yellow River, so P'an moved from the north of that river to a more elevated site on the south.

The dynasty lasted for nearly three hundred years more, and with the overthrow of Chou Hsin the first Feudal period came to an end. The later Feudal period, which followed it, was the most important in Chinese history. It lasted for 900 years (1122 to 221 B.C.) and comprised the Chou dynasty (1122 to 255 B.C.) and part of the Ch'in dynasty (255–221 B.C.). It is divisible into three parts. The founder, Wu Wang, who had defeated Chou Hsin, rewarded the vassals who had helped him to conquer the kingdom, by enfeoffing them of petty states in what are now the provinces of Honan, Shantung, Shansi, and Chihli, his own appanage being part of Shensi, with his capital at Hao (Ch'ang An). This feudal kingdom of Chou lasted from 1122 to 770 B.C., when the capital was moved by P'ing Wang to Lo Yang in Honan, and from this time the central authority gradually declined, while that of the feudal states increased. This period of decline and anarchy is known as the *Ch'un Ch'iu* Period (770–484 B.C.), because it is described in a work of that name meaning "The Annals" (lit. "Spring

Later Feudal Period.

Chow Dynasty.

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and Autumn "), edited by Confucius. In order to counteract the jealousies of the rival states and preserve as far as possible the waning authority of the middle kingdom, the singular device of " presiding chiefs " or " leading states " was adopted, the leading state professing loyalty to the House of Chou and exercising royal functions in the guidance or direction of all the others. This resulted in the absorption of the smaller states, who under this system had to bear the double burden of contributions to the central and to the presiding state, by the larger. From 484 to 221 B.C. the period is aptly named that of the " Warring States." By 475 B.C. the number of states had been reduced to seven. In 314 B.C. the victory of the Duke of Ch'in over the reigning Emperor Nan Wang made it clear that the Ch'in State, the latest formed of the more important states, had sufficient resources to make itself master of all the rest. Its chief rival was the large state of Ch'u ; but it succeeded in annexing this in 223 B.C., and, two years later, successfully defying the remaining smaller states, united the empire under one rule.

" Leading States."

" Warring States."

Monarchical Period

This brought the Feudal *régime* to a close. On its ruins, the " First Emperor," Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, laid the foundations of the monarchical system, only abolished 2,133 years later. In order to strengthen his position and more effectually prevent the revival of feudalism, Ch'in Shih Huang (as he is usually called [1]) ordered all records of the past to be destroyed except those relating to agriculture, medicine, astrology, and divination ; and 460 scholars who disobeyed his commands were buried alive. To define the northern and north-western frontiers of his

Absolute Monarchy.

" The Burning of the Books."

[1] The name Huang Ti, "Emperor," was made up from San Huang, the Three Primordial Sovereigns, and Wu Ti, the Five Emperors of legendary antiquity.

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kingdom and to check the constant incursions of the Tartar tribes, he united several pre-existing walls into one Great Wall, 1,145 miles in length, extending from the seashore at Shan Hai Kuan in longitude 119°.44′ to Chia Yü Kuan in 98°.14′ east. Seeing the danger caused by the states having each its own military system, Ch'in, who had his capital at Hsien Yang in Central Shensi, disarmed the provinces in order further to centralize his imperial power and strengthen his position. But his ambition to found a dynasty which should continue for ever was not destined to be realized. His line came to an end with the treacherous murder, in 206 B.C., of his son, who was only the "second emperor," after a reign of but three years' duration. The empire, however, had been increased by the addition of parts of modern Shantung, Kiangsu, Anhui, Honan, Hupei, and Shensi.

Building of the Great Wall.

But, though the Ch'in dynasty was thus quickly overthrown, the principle established was maintained, and for 427 years under the Han emperors (first the Former or Western Han, 206 B.C. to A.D. 25, and then, though in less degree, under the Later or Eastern Han, A.D. 25 to 221), the nation prospered, the period being one of the most illustrious in Chinese history. There was great literary, artistic, commercial, and military activity. The Chinese are still proud to refer to themselves as "Sons of Han." During this time Chinese influence penetrated southward. Under the Emperor Wên (179–156 B.C.) the Prince of Canton recognized the imperial sway. But the Hun tribes made frequent incursions, and the political history of the next 250 years is largely concerned with wars carried on against these northern invaders, who were frequently successful, though some of them were won over to the Chinese side. Yet in spite of these and other disturbing elements, such as the wars with the Turkish tribes on the west, the empire made much progress towards tranquillity and prosperity. The

The Hans.

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Ordos tribes were conquered, and parts of Liao Tung, Northern Corea, as well as portions of Kansu, Ssŭch'uan, Hupei, Anhui, Kiangsu, Chêkiang, Fukien, Kiangsi, Hunan, Kueichou, Yünnan, Kuangsi, and Kuangtung (including Hainan) were added to the empire. Chinese Turkestan was tributary. The ruler of Manchuria tendered submission. The majority of these extensions were due to the military skill of the great Emperor Wu Ti (140–86 B.C.), who, unable to subdue the Tartars on the north, utilized his energies in various other directions. By the time of Hsüan Ti (73–48 B.C.), as we have already noticed, all the tribes and countries of Central Asia sent tribute to the Chinese Emperor. But the Huns, who had been induced to sue for peace, again became aggressive when the imperial authority had been so weakened by the intrigues of the palace eunuchs, that the usurper Wang Mang was able to set it aside for a period of fourteen years (A.D. 9 to 23). On his being killed by the Princes of Han, the dynasty was restored and was thenceforward known by the name of Later or Eastern Han. The capital was removed from Ch'ang An, in Shensi, to Lo Yang, in Honan. Soon after this the Chinese drove the Huns from the empire, carrying their victories as far as Khiva and the Caspian Sea. Fifty Bokhara princes submitted and sent tribute to China. It was probably about this time that the Chinese generals came into contact with the Roman Empire. The Queen of Kao Chi was overthrown. Cochin-China (Annam) became a vassal state. But from 126–45 rebellions and internal dissensions were frequent, and from the reign of Huan Ti (147–68) the dynasty rapidly declined, and after several changes the imperial power, which was latterly disputed for by the generals rather than wielded by the emperors, was usurped by Ts'ao Ts'ao, a successful warrior, and his son, who founded a new dynasty.

We now come to a succession of minor dynasties, numbering fourteen in all and covering a period of 368 years (221–589). The country was first divided into the Three Kingdoms,

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viz., Shu (or Minor Han) in the west, regarded by Chinese historians as the legitimate successor of the Eastern Han, with its capital at Ch'êngtu in Ssŭch'uan; Wu, occupying the centre and south, with its capital at Nanking; and Wei, in the north, with its capital at Lo Yang. This was a period of romance, chivalry, and unbridled militarism. When the Wei kingdom obtained the supremacy, the empire was temporarily re-united in 265 under the Western Chin dynasty, but was not really consolidated; and in 310 the Tartars took Lo Yang and reigned supreme over North China, the enfeebled Chins removing their capital to Chien K'ang, which they called Nanking, or Southern Capital. Here they carried on their rule under the title of the Eastern Chin Dynasty (317–420). This was followed by the "Epoch of the Division between North and South," when a succession of unstable dynasties ruled China for 169 years. About the middle of the sixth century, a new kingdom named Chou, arose in the north and, reversing the history of its more famous prototype of feudal times, conquered and absorbed its rivals, and in 589 re-united the empire under one sovereign.

Minor Dynasties.

This period of disruption was naturally unproductive in the arts of peace, but towards its close the empire was greatly enlarged by annexations in the west. China now opened diplomatic relations with Japan.

On the re-union of the empire under the Sui dynasty (589–618)—the name adopted by the victorious Chou ruler—the southern provinces were developed through the immigration of many Chinese from the north. Internal peace fostered agriculture and trade, but wars were carried on in order to extend the western frontier, and also, in 612–14, against Corea, which was made to pay tribute two years later. The Sui dynasty was brought to an end by the treachery of Li Yüan, a Chinese general who leagued with the K'itan Tunguses against the Emperor Yang Ti, and established the

Restoration of Unity.

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T'ang dynasty, 618–907, which formed the third great period of progress and prosperity. Poetry is said to have "reached perfection," and literature, art, and commerce flourished. Kashgaria was formed into a Chinese province, and the Tibetan Chief acknowledged himself a Chinese vassal. But wars on land and sea continued with Tibet, Corea, and Japan, and the Kingdom of Sinlo was annexed. These successful activities greatly increased Chinese prestige in Central Asia. Yet, though the Tibetans and the K'itan Tartars were vanquished during the period 683–704, they defeated Ming Ti (713–56), who was ultimately driven to Ssŭch'uan. Hsi-an was recovered by Su Tsung (756–63). The struggle between the northern and southern powers continued, the capital being abandoned by Tai Tsung (763–80) on the approach of a small Tibetan army. The prosperity of the empire declined, and the sovereign power was further weakened by the surrender of the imperial prerogative when Tê Tsung (780–805) consented to make the great governorships hereditary. A rebel prince wrested Yünnan from the empire during the reign of I Tsung (860–74), and his successor Hsi Tsung (874–89) was driven from his capital by another rebel, but saved the dynasty from immediate extinction by alliance with a Turkish chief. The closing years of the T'ang period formed a sad contrast to its previous prosperity. Most of the towns of Central China were in ruins, and the condition of the country was deplorable. The power of the palace eunuchs had so increased that from about 820 they practically ruled the country and appointed the emperors. Between these threatening dangers—the influence of the eunuchs, the power of the provincial governors, the attacks of border tribes, and disastrous famines—the House of T'ang was hard pressed, and after a temporary revival under Chao Tsung (889–905) came to an end with the murder of his son by Chu Wên, who, originally a revolutionary, had been made Governor of Honan

T'ang Dynasty.

Hereditary Governorships.

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for surrendering to the emperor Hsi Tsung (874–89). Chao Tsung, the latter's brother and successor, successfully sought Chu's aid against the eunuchs, but eventually Chu caused both Hsi and Chao to be murdered and, assuming the title of emperor, established the Liang dynasty. This was the signal for the partition of China, and from 907–960 the empire was divided into various states under a succession of five minor dynasties.

The Five Dynasties.

At the end of this time another Chou dynasty (the Hou Chou or Posterior Chou) prevailed, and the brief period of disunion came to an end. Chao K'uang-yin, a Chou general raised to the throne by his soldiery, established the Sung dynasty (960–1280), divided into the Northern Sung (960–1127) and Southern Sung (1127–1280). This was a period of unequalled literary activity. As the T'ang period is celebrated for its poetry, so the Sung is famous for its philosophy. Peace and the restriction of the powers of the provincial Governors consolidated the empire. But the K'itan Tartars (afterwards called Liao) on the north had gradually increased their extensive territory by periodical encroachments on Chihli, Shansi, Shantung, and Honan, though the boundary between the two empires had never been satisfactorily determined. They had established their capital first at Liao Yang and later at Peking, the Sung capital being at K'ai Fêng Fu. Subject to the K'itans on the east were the Kins (or Nüchêns) who, however, drove back the Liao and then (1127) forced the Chinese themselves to retreat beyond the Yangtzŭ River, where they established their capital at Nanking and later at Lin An (modern Hangchow).

Sung Dynasty.

During the period of the Northern Sung the central states between the Yellow River and the Yangtzŭ were subjected. These were the Chou (under whom Ssŭch'uan with 40,000,000 Chinese subjects had been independent for forty years), the important district held by the Southern Han, with Canton (on which

Conquest and Pacification.

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Kiangsu and Anhui were dependent) for its capital, and the remainder of the South, as well as the Northern Han.

During the period of the Southern Sung the Chinese were concerned only to retain what territories they possessed.

Southern Sung Dynasty.

In 1161 began a war ending with the subjugation of the Kins; but, before the long contest had been finally decided, both sides were swallowed up in the wave of the Mongol invasion.

Yüan Dynasty.

The Mongol conquest began in 1211, when Genghis Khan (summoned to help the Chinese against the Kins), having subdued the desert tribes, concluded an alliance with the K'itans and devastated Chihli, Shensi, and Shansi. Capturing Liao Tung, he overthrew the Kin power and made the King of Corea his vassal. In 1218–19, Honan was invaded, and the Sung emperor ceased paying tribute to the Kins, who were obliged to resign the imperial title in exchange for the principality of Honan. In 1234 the Kin rule came to an end. The Mongols, who, at this time, were all but supreme in Asia, repudiated the Sung alliance and took Honan. Their chief, Kublai, next invaded South China, conquered Yünnan (then independent), extended his operations to the west and annexed Burma. Hangchow and Nanking having fallen, the surrender of Fukien and Kuangtung completed the Mongol supremacy.

Overthrow of Mongol Supremacy.

During the short period (1280–1368) of Mongol rule, though Kublai was both a just and generous monarch, many natives migrated from the northern to the southern portions of the empire. In 1337 the Chinese rebelled near Canton, and in 1356 Chu Yüan-chang, a Buddhist priest who had joined and, later, superseded the insurgent leader Kuo Tzŭ-hsing, captured Nanking and extended his power over Central China. By 1367 the country from the Canton provinces on the south to the Yellow River on the north had been recovered, and in the following year the Mongol supremacy

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was brought to an end by Chu proclaiming himself emperor. The Chinese thus again became rulers of their own country, though it was nearly twenty years more before the Mongols were finally expelled from all the provinces.

Ming Dynasty.

Under the native Ming emperors (1368–1644), who had their principal capital at Ying T'ien (Nanking) and their secondary capital at K'ai Fêng Fu, but transferred the seat of government to Pei P'ing (Peking) in 1421, Mongol raids occurred in the north, but were suppressed without difficulty. In the reign of Yung Lo (1403–25) Tongking was annexed, but again became tributary in 1426. Under Ch'êng Tsung (1436–50) the Mongols again invaded the Chinese empire, and this time defeated the Chinese army; but the captured Chinese emperor was allowed to return. In the reign of Ch'êng Hua (1465–88) much discontent, which eventually resulted in the downfall of the dynasty, was caused by territorial grants to members of the imperial family who had been instrumental in the emperor's elevation to the throne. In 1506–22

Relations with Western Nations.

relations with western nations became important. Some Portuguese reached Canton, but, having committed acts of piracy, they were massacred at Ningpo (1545). The survivors fled to Ch'üan Chou in Fukien, but were subsequently (1553–57) allowed to settle at Macao on payment of an annual rent. Since 1849 this place has been held as a Portuguese colony, though not officially recognized as such by the Chinese until the treaty of 1887. In Chia Ch'ing's reign (1522–67) the Mongols made repeated incursions in the north and the Japanese on the coast. The latter captured Ningpo, Hangchow, Sungkiang, Soochow, and Shanghai (1554). From this date the dynasty began to decline. In the reign of Shên Tsung (1573–1620) the Manchus began to move towards the conquest of the empire. The Japanese, who had been allowed to settle at Fusan, evacuated Corea after a seven years' war. Intercourse was opened with the Spaniards in the

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CITY WALL, PEKING

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Philippines. The Dutch settled in Formosa, and the English explored the Pearl River as far as Canton. The first Jesuit missionaries entered China in 1579 and 1583. In 1618 the Niuche tribes, remnants of the old Kin dynasty, invaded Liao Tung and, uniting under the general name of Manchus, drove the Chinese behind the Great Wall and established their capital at Mukden. Shansi and Corea were also conquered, and the Mongol tribes tendered their allegiance to China.

Ch'ing Dynasty.

In the meanwhile a Chinese rebel, Li Tzŭ-ch'êng, allied with the Mohammedans in Kansu, having conquered one-third of the empire, eventually took the capital (Peking), and set up a dynasty which he called Ta Chün; but the Chinese, summoning the Manchus to their aid, drove him out. While the Chinese army was pursuing him in the south, the Manchus established themselves in Peking and, refusing to return, set up their own dynasty, which they styled Ta Ch'ing (1644–1912), and occupied the country. The Chinese were allowed to share in the administration by K'ang Hsi (1662–1723). Embassies arrived from Russia and Holland. Formosa was subdued and annexed (1683). A treaty was made with Russia in 1689. In 1696 the Eleuths, a Kalmuck tribe of Ili, were defeated. Manchu garrisons were stationed throughout the provinces. During the next fifty years several rebellions were suppressed. In 1768, Ch'ien Lung exacted a triennial tribute from Burma, and in 1790 declared war against the Gurkhas of Nepal, who had invaded Tibet. In 1793, Lord Macartney's embassy was received by the same emperor (though regarded as a tribute-bearing mission), and obtained leave to trade at Canton, subject to official restrictions and exactions. The rebellion of the "White Lily Society," caused by official exactions and general discontent, broke out during the reign of Chia Ch'ing (1796–1821), and was suppressed only at great expense of lives and money, after

British Embassy.

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it had involved five provinces. In 1816, Lord Amherst's embassy, refusing to perform the *k'out'ou* (kowtow) ceremony, was obliged to return without being received in audience. Under Tao Kuang (1821–50), occurred the first war with Great Britain (1840–43). Its causes were: the uncivil treatment accorded to Lord Amherst, China's claim to universal sovereignty, her refusal to treat on equal terms with foreign nations or to grant liberty of commerce, and the destruction of 20,000 chests of British-owned opium at Canton. The war is not therefore rightly described as the "opium war," since it would have occurred had the destruction of the opium never taken place, the crucial question being the claim of China to exercise jurisdiction over foreigners residing in the country. to admit which would have been suicidal. As the result of this war, China was compelled to open Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai to foreign trade, to cede Hong Kong to Great Britain, and to pay an indemnity. In 1844, treaties were also made with France and the United States. The T'aip'ing rebellion, having its roots in the Ao Fei rebellion of 1849 and aiming at the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, lasted from 1850 to 1864, and was at length suppressed with foreign aid, after having involved twelve provinces, ruined 600 cities, and cost 20,000,000 lives. In the meantime (1856–60), the second war with Great Britain (in alliance with France), arising from the non-observance of treaty stipulations and from continual outrages on British subjects, led to the Convention of Peking (1860), providing for diplomatic residence at the capital, payment of indemnity, opening of Tientsin, cession of Kowloon, rights for French missionaries, etc. Besides the great Mohammedan rebellions of 1861 lasting, in Kansu until 1878, and until 1872 in Yünnan, the most important event

The "Kowtow."

First War with Great Britain.

Treaty Ports.

T'aip'ing Rebellion.

Second War with Great Britain.

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of T'ung Chih's reign (1861–75), as far as foreign relations were concerned, was the Tientsin massacre (1870), caused by atrocious accusations against Catholic missionaries spread by means of anonymous pamphlets and verbal slanders. In 1875, under Kuang Hsü (1875–1908), the murder of Margary, a British Consular officer, led to the opening of Ichang, Wuhu, Pakhoi, and Wênchow to foreign trade, and to the establishment of commercial intercourse between Burma and Yünnan. By a treaty made with Russia in 1881, China recovered possession of Ili, which had been occupied since 1871. A war with France, concluded in 1885, caused the surrender of Tongking. In March, 1891, the emperor gave the first audience to foreign representatives, but received them in the Hall of tribute-bearing nations. Another war, in 1894, with Japan, arising chiefly out of the dispute regarding Corea, and settled by the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), established the independence of Corea and forced China to cede Formosa and the Pescadores Islands to Japan, and open Shashi, Ch'ungking, Soochow, and Hangchow to foreign trade. Further encroachments—the seizure of Kiaochow by Germany, the lease of Port Arthur by Russia, of Weihaiwei by Great Britain, of Kuangchou Wan by France, and the demand for concessions of various kinds by these and other nations—aroused China to extraordinary military activity, which culminated in the "Boxer" outbreak (1900), aiming at the expulsion of all foreigners from the empire. The Legations in Peking were besieged for seven weeks, and more than 200 Protestant and Catholic missionaries and several thousands of native converts put to death in different parts of the empire. The Legations were relieved on August 14th; the Chinese Court fled to Hsi-an, but was allowed to return after peace had been concluded. The chief stipulations of the treaty were: the

Tientsin Massacre.

Further Opening of Ports to Foreign Trade.

War with Japan. Independence of Corea.

"Boxer" Outbreak.

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punishment of the persons chiefly responsible, the payment of an indemnity, the razing of the Taku forts, proper reception of foreign representatives, etc. The victories of Japan impressed upon China both the need and the possibility of reform, and from 1900 onwards foreigners were placed on a footing of greater equality.

Necessity of Reform Recognized.

Republican Period

The despotic government of the Manchus, however, continuing under the mask of constitutional reforms, at length provoked the revolution of 1911 which overthrew the dynasty. Hsüan T'ung, a child, had, on the death of Kuang Hsü in 1908, been placed on the throne under the supervision of the Empress Dowager, and on February 12th, 1912, an edict proclaiming his abdication was promulgated. Meanwhile the prime mover of the revolution, Sun Wên, also known as Sun Yat-sen, had been elected President of the Chinese Republic set up in the provinces south of the Yang Tzŭ River. On the abdication of the Manchus he resigned in favour of Yüan Shih-k'ai, a general who, having been recalled from exile to help the Manchu cause, had become Premier and Commander-in-Chief. The North and South being united, the Republic now embraced all the provinces of China. The first Chinese Parliament met on April 8th, 1913. A rule of the constitution, unprecedented in the case of any other republic, provided that the President should enclose in a gold box to be kept in a stone room a golden tablet bearing the names of three persons from whom, at his death, his successor was to be chosen. Naturally, as the event proved, one of the nominees was his eldest son. However, on December 12th, 1915, the President, supported by the unanimous vote of all the provincial assemblies, declared that by the wish of the people

Subversion of Manchu Supremacy.

Institution of Republic.

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he would ascend the throne, thus reverting to the monarchical form of government. But the unanimity of the provinces, perhaps largely due to the fact that all the chief posts were filled by Yüan's staunchest adherents, did not prove so complete as was supposed. Signs of discontent became apparent, and rebellion broke out almost immediately in Yünnan. This province being joined by Kueichou, Kuanghsi, Ssŭch'uan and others, Yüan Shih-k'ai deemed it expedient to cancel his monarchical proclamation by a simple edict, dated March 21st, 1916. Some have alleged that the incipient revolution would not have broken out but for the secret interference of interested Powers, but, ostensibly, the Republic had been restored in deference to the supposed wish of the people for a "national" government. The strong anti-monarchist party, however, was not so easily appeased, and declared that a man who had betrayed his trust, whether through selfish ambition or weakness, could no longer be allowed to administer the affairs of the nation.

Attempt to Re-institute Monarchical Government.

Reversion to Republic.

The deadlock thus produced was unexpectedly and opportunely solved by the death of Yüan Shih-k'ai on June 6th, 1916, owing, so I was informed by Dr. Bussière, the able French physician who attended him, to kidney disease brought on by chagrin at the desertion of two among his most trusted henchmen, whom he had raised from insignificance to high positions in the State. He was succeeded by the Vice-President, Li Yüan-hung, who shortly took steps to reassemble the parliament dissolved by Yüan three years before, after an existence of only a few months (April 8th to November 4th, 1913). This met on August 1st, 1916; and among the earliest matters discussed were the restoration of the Provincial Assemblies, which were the nurseries of the central parliament; the drafting of the Constitution; and the amendment of the Presidential Election Law.

Death of Yüan Shih-k'ai.

Li Yüan-hung President.

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The Future.

At the time of writing the prospects of the young Republic seem fairly bright, but in China so many complicated factors enter into politics that it would be rash to make any definite prophecy. Whether the Chinese are ready for republican institutions and capable of satisfactorily carrying on a national government remains to be seen. The bulk of the people would undoubtedly be satisfied with any form of government which secured them freedom both from external aggression and from internal oppression. On the other hand, many who desire the benefits of modern institutions are unwilling to pay for them, or at least to incur the burden of increased taxation. This may be partly due to past experience, which has taught them that money taken from the people in the shape of taxes is not always wholly devoted to the purposes for which the officials allege it to be required. The crux of the whole matter lies in the question whether the racial character of the nation will allow her to become strong and coherent enough for resisting aggression, developing her own resources, and reforming administrative corruption before other interested nations step in, on one pretext or another, either to "protect" her or to seize some more of her territory. Only by sinking individual interests and uniting for the national welfare can she hope, in the absence of higher codes of international morality than those now universally prevalent, to retain her national integrity and independence.

Some Things Needful.

General Result.

As a result of all this we find the China of to-day a country which, though politically a unit, is divided by its great central river, the Yang Tzŭ, into two widely different parts. In the north we find dry, dusty plains, broad roads, and comparatively few watercourses; in the south, rice-fields, narrow paths and watercourses everywhere. Wheat, barley, and millet, and the ox drawing the plough are characteristic of the north; rice and the water-buffalo, of the south; in the

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north the plough and the "broad acres," in the south the hoe and the "market-garden." The northerners are children of the soil, heavy and conservative;—using the mule-drawn two-wheeled cart, and the horse, donkey, and camel for pack-animals and riding. The southerners, children of the water, are boatmen, seafarers, and emigrants; quick-tempered, alert, enterprising merchants, using the sedan-chair or the boat for travel or transport. The northerners have been moulded by perpetual defensive warfare; and the influence of the horse-riding and bow-shooting nomads is seen in their industries; they are felt- and rug-weavers; the southerners show Malayan and Indian influence in the laying-out of their settlements, in their domestic architecture, implements, industries, and products.

Historical Periods.

We have now, bearing these differences of ethnological type in mind, to observe the sociological results of environment and the action of various internal and external forces on a people with the characteristics already described. All works which have hitherto dealt with the historical development of China have adopted, in a more or less pronounced form, the old unscientific division according to the dynasties which have successively ruled over the country. In my work, *Descriptive Sociology—Chinese*, I have followed what is, I believe, a more correct and scientific method, but, as reference to the names and dates of dynasties is occasionally necessary, I append here a table giving a list of these with the principal political changes and their causes, as far as it is possible to state them clearly in a condensed summary.

	B.C.	*Cause of Termination or Change.*
MYTHICAL RULERS	2953–2357	
T'ai Hao (Fu Hsi Shih)	2953	
Yen Ti (Shên Nung Shih)	2838	
Huang Ti (Yu Hsiung Shih)	2698	
Shao Hao (Chin T'ien Shih)	2598	
Chuan Hsü (Kao Yang Shih)	2514	
Ti K'u (Kao Hsin Shih)	2436	
Ti Chih (Kao Hsin Shih)	2366	

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	B.C.	*Cause of Termination or Change.*
PATRIARCHS	2357–2205	
Yao (T'ao T'ang Shih)	2357	Death of Yao.
Shun (Yu Yü Shih)	2255	Death of Shun.
HSIA DYNASTY	2205–1766	Chieh Kuei's immorality.
Yü	2205–2197	
SHANG DYNASTY	1766–1122	Chou Hsin's immorality.
Yin Dynasty (Change of name)	1401–1122	
CHOU DYNASTY	1122–255	Supremacy of Ch'in State.
Kingdom of Chou	1122–770	Transfer of Capital to Lo Yi due to Jung inroads.
Ch'un Ch'iu (Period of the Annals)	770–484	Inter-State wars.
Chan Kuo (Warring States)	484–221	Victories of Ch'in State. Re-union of Empire.
CH'IN DYNASTY	255–206	Massacre of literati. Eunuch influence.
HAN DYNASTY (Former or Western)	206–A.D.25	Injustice. Corruption. "Mad race for wealth." Liu Hsin's popularity and power.
	A.D.	
HAN DYNASTY (Later or Eastern)	25–221	Eunuchs. Tung Cho's usurpation. Ts'ao's conspiracy.
THE THREE KINGDOMS	221–265	Military strategy.
Wei (in North)	220–265	
Minor Han or Shu (in West)	221–265	
Wu (in South)	222–280	
WESTERN CHIN DYNASTY	265–317	Degeneration. Corruption. Barbarian invasion.
EASTERN CHIN DYNASTY	317–420	Conquest by Sung.

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	A.D.	*Cause of Termination or Change.*
Period of Division Between North and South	420–589	Restoration of unity by Yang Chien.
Sung Dynasty	420–479	
Ch'i ,,	479–502	
Liang ,,	502–557	
Ch'ên ,,	557–589	
N. Wei ,,	386–535	
W. Wei ,,	535–557	
E. Wei ,,	534–550	
N. Ch'i ,,	550–589	
N. Chou ,,	557–589	
Sui Dynasty	589–618	Li Yüan's alliance with Turkish tribes.
T'ang Dynasty	618–907	Eunuch influence. Insubordinate Governors. Pressure of border tribes. Famine.
The Five Dynasties	907–960	Military power.
Posterior Liang	907–923	
,, T'ang	923–936	
,, Chin	936–947	
,, Han	947–951	
,, Chou	951–960	Conquest by Chao K'uang-yin.
Tartar Dynasties	907–1234	Mongol conquest.
Liao (K'itan or Iron Tunguses)	907–1125	Kin alliance with Chinese.
W. Liao	1125–1168	Kin conquest.
Kin or Chin (Nüchên or Golden Tunguses)	1115–1234	Mongol conquest.
Sung Dynasty (Northern Sung)	960–1127	Kin invasion.
Southern Sung Dynasty	1127–1280	Mongol invasion.
Yüan Dynasty (Mongol)	1280–1368	Corruption. Degeneration. Lama lawlessness.
Ming Dynasty	1368–1644	Eunuch influence. Degeneration. Rebellion. Manchu conquest.
Ch'ing Dynasty (Manchu)	1644–1912	Manchu degeneration. Corruption. War with Japan. Foreign encroachments. Western education. Revolution.
Republic	1912–	

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PERIODS

	B.C.
EARLY FEUDAL	2357–1122
LATER FEUDAL	1122–221
MONARCHICAL	221–A.D. 221
DISRUPTION	221–A.D. 589
RESTORATION OF UNITY	589–960
SUNG	960–1280
MONGOL	1280–1368
MING	1368–1644
MANCHU	1644–1912
REPUBLICAN	1912–

[1] Full-grown China is composed of Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang or the New Territory, Tibet, and China Proper or the Eighteen Provinces. The New Territory, also called Chinese Turkestan, Eastern Turkestan, or Kashgaria, was reorganized in 1878 as an additional Province, making, with the Tung San Shêng or Three Eastern Provinces of Manchuria (Fêng T'ien or Shêng Ching, Kirin or Chi Lin, and Hei Lung Chiang or Tsitsihar), twenty-two Provinces in all. Formosa has belonged to Japan since 1895, and Corea since 1910.

The " Five Nations " represented in the modern Chinese national flag by red, yellow, blue, white, and black stripes are the Manchus, Chinese, Mongolians, Mohammedans, and Tibetans respectively.

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CHAPTER III

DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS

MARITAL: FEUDAL PERIOD

THE family is the earliest form of social organization, without which the life of the society could not continue, for the hypothesis of general promiscuity is essentially unscientific. Even had a universally promiscuous society been possible, it would soon have become extinct. Thus, the family preceding the nation, an account of the domestic institutions must precede that of the ceremonial and political institutions.

The Family and the Society.

In the early history of many countries we find it stated that marriage was "instituted" by some wise sovereign or other; and so—in accordance with the tendency of nations in an unscientific age to account for their origin by myths which matured judgment repudiates—we find it in China. After an alleged period of promiscuity during which the people "knew their mothers but not their fathers," the Emperor Fu Hsi (a mythical sovereign said to have reigned from 2953 to 2838 B.C.) and his immediate successors, equally mythical, are stated to have introduced the rite of marriage. The "period of promiscuity," however, rests on the supposition that descent was traced through the mother, which in turn is founded on the fact that the character for "woman" is a component part of the character for "surname"; but even if this be admitted, we cannot infer from it that a state of promiscuity prevailed in early China. At most it would indicate the existence of the matriarchate, or tracing of descent through the mother.

Alleged Origin of Marriage in China.

Traces of Matriarchalism.

Marriage by capture may have been the original form, but if it ever existed it had died out as the recognized form of marriage before authentic history begins; though instances of actual

Marriage by Capture.

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capture (probably, however, not *de facto*, but against the will of the girl only, not of her parents) occur in some districts in China at the present day. Of the nature of marriage in the earliest times, so little is recorded that it is difficult to describe it without introducing facts belonging to later periods.

Marriage in Early Times.

With regard to the Early Feudal Period, we may say that, for part of it at least, marriage was permitted with members of the same clan, that the consent of the parents was indispensable, and that the presents of skins and feathers may have represented purchase-money. Whether polygamy proper obtained (save in exceptional cases, such as when Yao presented his two daughters to Shun, appointing him as his successor to the throne) is not known; but there is no doubt that concubinage prevailed and that it was a source of constant disorder. The imperial palaces contained hundreds of concubines. There is some evidence of polyandry, but this would never have become general in a fertile country like China. Prostitution is also mentioned, and there are allusions to unnatural crime.

Marriage in the Later Feudal Period.

With regard to the later Feudal Period, the classical writings enable us to obtain a more complete view of marital institutions. The age for marriage was twenty for the man and fifteen for the girl, and it was considered improper for them to remain unmarried after thirty and twenty respectively. If any remained unmarried after those ages, the State acted as match-maker.

Consent of Parents.

In all cases of marriage, the consent of the parents had to be obtained, and, if they were dead, an announcement was made in the ancestral temple. Marriage with those of the same surname was now forbidden. Five classes of women were excluded from marriage, viz., those belonging to a family guilty of rebellion, or of disorder, or one which had produced criminals for more than one generation, or was leprous; and those who had lost both father and elder

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brother. Marriage could not take place during the three years of mourning. Celibacy was regarded as a disgrace; one result of which was the curious custom of what may be called posthumous or post-mortem marriages: where, one or both of a betrothed pair having died before marriage, the marriage ceremony was nevertheless performed. The custom was forbidden at this time, but apparently without effect, for the formality of the posthumous marriage has continued to the present day. In every case of betrothal the services of a "go-between" or "match-maker" were indispensable. The introductory ceremonies were: the proposal accompanied by the gift of a pair of wild geese (these birds being regarded as possessing the power of harmonizing the male and female elements in nature); inquiries about the lady's name; intimation that the divination resorted to by the man's family had proved favourable; and the request, made to the girl's family, to fix the day. Ten pieces of red silk or cloth were presented as betrothal gifts.

Post-mortem Marriages.

The "Go-between."

The marriage was concluded by the progress of the bride from the home of her parents. If one of her parents-in-law died whilst she was on the way, she had to don mourning garb and hurry to their home. But it is curious to observe that if the bride died before she had revisited her parents after her marriage (*see below*) she was taken back and buried among her own kindred, "showing that she had not become the established wife." In the former case, of course, the marriage would eventually take place, and she could worship at her husband's ancestral shrine. This fetching of the bride with the parents' consent may possibly be a survival of the form of marriage by capture, in which the bride was fetched without their consent. The son, carrying the wild geese, proceeded in a black carriage to the house of the girl's

Conclusion of Marriage.

Fetching the Bride.

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father to receive her from her parents. He then drove her in the carriage for a few steps, dismounted, and went ahead to receive her at the door. They then ate together of the same animal and sipped from cups made from the same melon, "thus showing that they now formed one body and were pledged to mutual affection."

Marriages were usually arranged at the beginning of the year and took place "at the flowering of the peach tree."

Bride's Revisit to Parents.

After a short interval the bride revisited her parents, and the marriage was not considered complete until this period ended. After three months the wife was presented in the ancestral temple. The type of marriage which has always been followed in China, definitely emerges during this period, namely, a qualified monogamy, *i.e.*, one legal or principal wife, and one or more concubines, only in case of the legal wife having no son. Whether the law was ever strictly complied with may well be doubted, for it is certain that before long the number of concubines was only limited by the means or inclination of the husband. This polygyny was, however, considered prejudicial to the national interests. Prostitution, also, was common.

Qualified Monogamy.

The status of women was low. The relation between husband and wife was stricter than in later times. A stern code of etiquette existed between the two. All disrespectful familiarity was avoided, and they did not even speak directly to each other, but employed internuncios. When the wife wished to visit her parents, she intimated her purpose through the matron. The power of the husband was so great that he could kill his wife with impunity. Confucius expressed his approval of the "rule of the three obediences": a woman, when young, must obey her father and elder brother; when married, her husband; and when a widow, her son. "No instructions or orders must issue from the harem. Woman's business is simply the preparation of food and wine. Beyond

Relation between Husband and Wife.

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the threshold of her apartment she should not be known for good or evil. She may take no step on her own initiative nor come to any conclusion on her own deliberation." Yet there can be no doubt that true affection often existed, and in the Odes we read the plaintive regrets of wives at the absence of their husbands on military duty.

Dissolution of Marriage.

There were seven grounds on which a marriage might be dissolved, namely, disobedience of the wife to her husband's parents; failure to give birth to a son; dissolute conduct; jealousy of the other inmates of the harem; incurable disease; talkativeness; and thieving. These might be overruled if the wife had no home to return to; if, since marriage, she had mourned her parents for three years; and if the husband, originally poor, had become rich. Apparently divorce was common. Confucius, his son, his grandson, and Mencius all divorced their wives. The legitimate wife was repudiated only for a very grave cause.

Remarriage of Widows.

The wife on her part had no means of separating from her husband, except, perhaps, in case of leprosy. Widows were supposed to remain single, refusal to remarry being esteemed as an act of chastity. But a wife who had been wrongfully divorced, *i.e.*, was innocent of any of the faults, etc., above mentioned, was allowed to remarry. On the remarriage of a widow, the children belonged to the second husband's family.

Monarchical Period

Changes since the Feudal Period.

The system above described has remained the same in its essentials until the present day. During the interval the chief changes were as follows—

In the period A.D. 221–589, stricter class-regulations forbade the royal family, scholars, and the common people to marry out of their own classes. We find the first mention of "pre-natal" betrothals, the origin of which is variously ascribed to the Han and T'ang

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periods. They chiefly took place where two men were very firm friends and agreed that their children should be regarded as brothers or sisters, if of the same sex, or, if of opposite sexes, be affianced as husband and wife, and married on reaching maturity. In 907–60, musical bands were introduced into the marriage ceremony, a decline from the classical standard, disapproved by the orthodox. In 960–1280 and 1280–1368, cases of couvade (probably also existing in earlier times), are recorded from Kuangsi and Western Yünnan. By this custom, on the birth of a child, the husband retired to bed, abstained from certain kinds of food and from touching certain articles, such as weapons, being meanwhile fed and cared for by the women of his household. Its origin and explanation have not yet been ascertained, but it is supposed to be connected with the transition from the matriarchal system, according to which descent and inheritance were reckoned through the mother alone, to the patriarchal system. Under the Chinese rule in 1368–1644, it would seem that in certain circumstances two women might have the status of wife. There were also, in Yung Lo's time (1403–25), relaxations permitting marriage between the military families and those of the people.

La Couvade.

Bigamy.

Under the Manchu rule in 1644–1912, we find but few radical changes from the system of feudal times. The family, as before, embraced all members of the household bearing the same surname under one *paterfamilias*. Within the family were four degrees of relationship. Slaves were included. The whole social and political edifice was based on the family. It has even been said that "China consists of families and of nothing else"! The essentials of marriage, as in the feudal times, were consent of parents, acceptance of presents, the bringing home of the bride, the worship of ancestors, and the subsequent visit of the bride to her father's home. Priests neither married

Marriage during the Manchu Period.

Essentials of Marriage.

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nor performed marriages. Marriage was not compulsory, nor did the State now play the part of match-maker; but old bachelors and old maids were exceedingly rare; there were hardly any bachelors over twenty-four, and celibacy was still regarded as a vice. Polygamy was legally prohibited: only one wife was allowed, but an unlimited number of concubines. The former was chosen by the parents, or rather by the *paterfamilias*; the latter by the husband, and these were subject to the wife, though of equal rank among themselves. Manchu women could not become concubines. The wife was considered as the mother of all the children born to the husband. Such unusual forms of marriage as polyandry, and the levirate, were so rare as not to require detailed notice.

Concubinage.

The age for marriage remained the same, though tending to be later than formerly, and it was not determined, as in Roman law, by the attainment of puberty, but by custom. However, the non-attainment of puberty, disease, etc., were impediments if no notice had been given. Lunacy was not regarded as a bar to marriage, and a betrothed woman might not break off the engagement on account of the insanity of her spouse. Marriage between relations of all degrees of agnatic relationship, *i.e.*, within the clan, was prohibited. Marriage was also forbidden during the legal time of mourning, though this seems to have become a dead letter in most parts of China except in the case of mourning for parents. It was considered to be a time of mourning if the father, mother or grandparent were confined in prison for a capital offence. A woman who had fled from justice, or an adulteress and her seducer, were unmarriageable. If anyone forced the wife or daughter of a free man to marry either himself or a *filius familias* he was liable to be strangled; nor could marriage be concluded between those standing in the relation of *tutor* and *pupilla*;

Age.

Relationship.

Impediments.

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nor with a runaway female slave ; nor with a widow except by consent. No official could marry anyone under his jurisdiction or an actress or singing-girl ; nor could play-actors, policemen, or boatmen marry women of any class but their own; nor a male slave a free woman. Buddhist priests and nuns, or Taoist priests and nuns, who did not shave their heads, could not marry, though priests, and presumably nuns, also, might do so after returning to the laity. Difference of religion had no influence on marriage. Any one of these impediments rendered a marriage null and void, the parties privy to it with guilty knowledge being punished, and the husband and wife also if *sui juris*. The purchase-money was forfeited.

Effects of Impediments.

In the absence of any valid impediment, the match-maker or go-between (nearly always a woman) proceeded to make the contract, fixing the amount of the presents and the latest day for concluding the marriage. The betrothal usually took place when the bridegroom and bride—who, until the actual marriage, played no part at all in the matter, their inclinations not being taken into account, and there being thus no possibility of an *animus matrimonii*—were between seven and fourteen years of age. As we have seen, they could be affianced in infancy or even before birth, but this custom was not generally regarded with favour. Sons and daughters were betrothed in order of seniority. The effect of betrothal was to give both parties a right to sue for specific performance, *i.e.*, for the conclusion of the marriage. If the contract was found to contain false statements, it was declared void ; and, if the marriage had already been concluded before the fraud was discovered, there was a right of action for divorce. The contract was also revocable in certain cases, such as development of great physical deformity, outbreak of leprosy, or if one party were found to be a notorious thief, etc.

Betrothal Contract.

Effect of Betrothal.

When it was desired to conclude the marriage, presents of

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silk were sent to the bride's father, and another contract stipulating the amount of purchase-money was drawn up.

Marriage a Purchase.

The marriage was thus a real purchase, not a mere simulation, as in the Roman *coëmtio*. By accepting this purchase-money, the father sold and manumitted his daughter to the bridegroom's family, to which she thenceforth belonged. But, as the feeling against selling their daughters among the better-minded people caused the price to be referred to as the "presents," so also the parents of the bride often handed over these presents to her for her own use, or employed them to buy her a wedding outfit. The bride brought no dowry, but one was sometimes given, when parents and brothers were able to provide it. The Church in China had nothing to do with marriage. The formality called "receiving the bride," viz., the public procession of the bridegroom to the bride's house for the purpose of bringing her to his own home to worship his ancestors, formed (as in earlier periods) the close of the marriage ceremonies.

"Presents" and "Price."

We thus see that there were six principal essentials to a valid marriage, corresponding generally to those of early times, namely (1) the sending of a "go-between" to the girl's family, to make the necessary inquiries; (2) the sending of the "go-between" to make a definite offer of marriage; (3) the expression of assent in writing; (4) the "presents" to the girl's parents; (5) the choosing of an auspicious day for the wedding; and (6) the fetching of the bride by the bridegroom.

The Six Essentials.

The effect of the relation of husband and wife thus established was not only to make the wife *uxor* but to bring her into the *manus mariti*, thus entering the agnatic union of her husband and acquiring few rights. She was in no sense "mistress of the house," and was too young and uneducated to be so effectually. Implicit obedience to her husband was exacted

Status of Wife.

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from her: she could not even leave the house without his permission. The husband had a right to inflict corporal punishment, though if he wounded her he was liable to legal penalty. She could possess no property of her own. The husband was not allowed to hire her out to prostitution, but could kill her with impunity in case of adultery, provided he killed the paramour also.

Dissolution of Marriage.

Dissolution of marriage, which of course took place on the death of either husband or wife, was obligatory in case of an impediment to the marriage or of the wife's adultery. Divorce might also take place by consent of both parties (*e.g.*, owing to incompatibility of temper), if the wife left the house against the will of her husband on account of suspicion of adultery, if she struck her husband, if the marriage contract contained false statements, or if the wife had any of the faults which would have entailed divorce in early times (*see page* 37), and might be overruled for the reasons already given. Desertion was punished not only by divorce but by accusation before the city tribunal and 100 blows; but ordinary disagreements were settled by the heads of the families concerned, legal process being rarely resorted to. If, in addition to desertion, the wife married another man, she was liable to be strangled. Leprosy was the only defect which justified repudiation by the wife. In

Effects of Dissolution.

all cases the *status quo* was re-established on dissolution of marriage, the wife returning to her family, the children remaining with the father, and the purchase-money being returned to the husband, unless he was the cause of the divorce. If her family would not receive her back, the divorced wife became *sui juris*. Bigamy rendered the second marriage null and void, the girl returning to her family. On the death of his wife a husband might remarry immediately, but remarriage of widows was regarded, as of old, as an act of unchastity, and widows who steadfastly refused to remarry, or who

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committed suicide on the death of their husbands, had honorary gateways known as *p'ai lou* or *p'ai fang* erected in their honour by imperial command. Monuments were erected to four great virtues: filial piety, patriotism, fidelity, and righteousness, and the most commemorated of these was the fidelity of women. Early widowhood was the greatest calamity which could befall a Chinese woman. The struggles of a poor widow practising fidelity were always pitiful. The widow was required to remain in the paternal home, and if childless usually adopted a son. Among the poorer classes the pinch of necessity caused widows to be encouraged to remarry.

Honours to Chaste Widows.

Republican Period

During recent years, and especially since the establishment of the Republic in 1912, China has in large measure adopted what is known as "Western progress." As regards marital institutions this seems to have had little effect on essentials, though some changes, not always for the better, are to be observed in outward ceremonial forms. Some of these seem, to the sociologist, to give the ceremonial a hybrid character. For instance, a short while ago, in a marriage procession passing along one of the main streets of Peking, I noticed that, while the greater part of the procession was very much as of old, the bride, instead of riding, as formerly, in a red sedan-chair borne by bearers clothed in green and red, in harmony with the rest of the procession, was seated in a foreign, glass-panelled, horse-drawn brougham, with a string of flowers fastened round the top on the outside. I could not help thinking that this was a "half-caste" ceremony and might (though I trust this was not the case) be productive of a half-hearted union!

Mixture of Chinese and Foreign Ceremonial.

Looking back over the history of marital institutions in China, we find but little real progress in the "things that

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matter" from the archaic type of early feudal times. The changes which have occurred have been in outward formalities, not in the inwardness and essentials of progress. The future husband and wife have still no choice, but are chosen for each other, through the medium of a "go-between," by their parents; and (in spite of the sophistical request made to the "go-between" to choose a girl from a family remarkable for virtue rather than wealth), material considerations have greater weight than the sentiments of the parties entering into this important compact. The unit of Chinese society is still the family and not the individual; and moreover, so long as the parties are married when mere children, the choice could not well be left to them. The son, as a rule, marries before he is capable of making a living or establishing a home for himself, and his father has to support both him and his wife. Marriage in most primitive countries is early, and the character of purchase and sale, however disguised, is yet real; and it is to these primitive types that marriage still conforms in China. Concubinage continues to be permitted and is universally practised. In a public address recently given in Peking to a Chinese audience, I advocated its abolition as one of the best and easiest means of solving the over-population problem, the average Chinese family being, as the result of concubinage, about four to five times as large as the average family in the West. The prohibition of marriage between *tutor* and *pupilla*, or in case of great inequality of rank, and the stigma attaching to remarriage of a widow, might be abolished without any social injury. The relation of husband and wife, both during marriage and in case of divorce, is also more unequal than that obtaining in more civilized communities, though, since the recent imitation of what is called "Western progress" set in, women are no longer, as they used to be, kept literally in the background of the house (the women's apartment). Another evil is the increasing number of European and

Little Real Progress.

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American women who marry Chinese husbands—a union which tends to reproduce in the offspring the worst traits of both parents. One change of a progressive nature, belonging perhaps more properly to the next section of this chapter but intimately connected with marital institutions, has taken place in the relation of the married woman to her own parents. In former days, according to the *Li Chi*, or Book of Rites, a married woman mourned in the second degree only for her parents, but in the first degree for her parents-in-law. Marriage thus meant that she showed less respect for her deceased parents than she would have done had they died whilst she was still a spinster. Now she wears the same degree of mourning for both, and is regarded as belonging equally to both houses. Formerly, also, the deepest mourning was worn only for the father; now it is worn for both parents.

Having observed the general character of the marital institution in China and the main points in its history, let us, in conclusion, note the ceremonial which accompanies a wedding in China, from the first steps to the actual conclusion of the marriage. Details differ in various parts of the empire, but the principal formalities are practically the same. They represent more particularly the ceremonial in force during the recent Manchu *régime*, but this still obtains with little if any variation in most parts of China, and is therefore described in the present tense.

A Wedding in China.

The preliminary ceremonies begin a long time before the actual marriage. The first consists of a gift, called "the passing of the big parade," made by the bridegroom's parents to the bride's family, composed largely of eatables, together with some hair-ornaments for the bride and a small sum of money. The bride's family shows its acceptance and appreciation of these gifts by sending back small red packages containing money, and also baked pigs, which are a sign of prosperity.

"The Passing of the Big Parade."

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As the day approaches, invitations are sent out to the wedding guests, and the mother packs her daughter's trunks, and employs tailors to make her dresses and bed-clothes, packers to pack the furniture, decorators to ornament the trunks, tables, chairs, cooking utensils, etc., so that they may look new and attract attention as the procession passes through the streets. For ten or more, sometimes as much as thirty, days the bride-elect, together with her sisters, female friends, and attendants, bewails and laments her intended removal from the home of her fathers. On learning that the time for her marriage is at hand, she often conceals herself in her room, refusing to appear at meals or to come out to see anybody. Three days before the wedding the trunks, furniture, etc., are removed to the bridegroom's house by men dressed in red tunics, who pass through the principal streets in order to demonstrate the father's liberality. On arrival at the bridegroom's house, the articles are placed in rooms vacated for the purpose, and the house is made ready for the guests. The bride-elect's hair, which has hitherto been hanging down in long tresses, is now put up in the fashion of married women, and fastened with bodkins. The night immediately preceding the wedding is wholly given up to weeping and wailing, principally by the future bride's attendants, and this noise may continue all night for several nights in succession. Some time previous to the wedding day the bridegroom is ceremoniously invested with a dress-cap or bonnet, and takes an additional name.

Preparations in the Bride's Home.

Weeping and Wailing.

On the wedding day a feast is prepared at the house of the bridegroom, who, if an official or son of an official, attires himself in official dress and, after doing obeisance to his father and drinking wine, is requested to send for the bride. Sending for the bride has now practically taken the place of the early custom of fetching the bride (which might and often

Sending for the Bride.

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did involve journeys of great length, sometimes all across the empire). The bridegroom sends a large sedan-chair, richly carved and gilt, which comes last in a procession formed of many elaborately-carved and gilded wooden pavilions, borne on poles, and containing sweetmeats, ornaments, a wild goose and gander, and the figure of a dolphin, emblematic of rank and wealth. Red boards with the titles of the ancestors of the bride and bridegroom carved in letters of gold are carried by men clad in red, while others carry large carved and gilded lanterns, each containing a red candle. There are also bannermen, musicians, umbrella-bearers, fan-bearers, and equerries in number proportionate to the rank of the bridegroom, the whole procession often being headed by a goat, with its horns gilt and its head decorated with a wreath of red paper.

The bride usually remains in her room until dusk, when the mother, with the help of the servants, forces open the door, and proceeds to dress her in red garments. She then makes her farewell obeisances to the household gods and her parents. Her face is covered with a thick red veil, usually of silk. On the arrival of the procession, the bride, or her father, is handed a letter written by the bridegroom's father on red paper tinged with gold, requesting her to enter the bridal chair and set out for her new home, where the bridegroom is awaiting her. This letter has taken the place of the former personal fetching of the bride by the bridegroom, and is an important document carefully preserved, which must be returned in case of divorce, being practically equivalent to a marriage certificate. The parting is accompanied by much lamentation. She then leaves the house (which is called *ch'u mên*, "going out of the door," or *ch'u chia*, to "go out to be married," those being the expressions for the marriage of a girl, that for the marriage of a man being *ch'u ch'i*, to "take a wife"), and enters the gilded sedan-chair. Her mother locks her into it and hands the key to

The Bride Leaves Her Home.

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the bridegroom's representative, who has accompanied the chair and brought the letter. The procession then starts on its way, to the accompaniment of fire-crackers and music, which to a Western ear is most inappropriately inharmonious. The younger brothers of the bride accompany their sister to report her safe arrival. Should a man marry before his elder brother, or a woman before her elder sister (which is unusual), a pair of trousers, representing the elder brother or sister, is suspended over the door of the bridal chair and also over the door of the house where the marriage takes place.

A Pair of Trousers.

Of the lanterns, those borne in the front of the procession are inscribed with the bridegroom's name, and those in the middle with that of the bride. About midway to the bridegroom's house the procession halts in the street, and large red cards bearing the ancestral name of the bridegroom's family, and similar ones bearing that of the bride's family, are exchanged, with the customary salutations. The carriers of the lanterns with the bride's name now turn round and return to her home, accompanied by her kinsmen, the rest of the procession going on to the bridegroom's house. It is said that from the moment when the two parties carrying lanterns separate from each other in the street, the name of the bride is changed into that of her betrothed (who is not yet her husband); and it is possible that this is a survival of the time when the bride's relatives gave up the pursuit of the captor in the chase. It should be noticed, however, that, though the bride leaves her parents' home, she is after marriage regarded as belonging to both families, for she has to worship both her father's and her husband's ancestors.

Exchange of Cards.

Meanwhile the bridegroom's family has been feasting and drinking. The bridal chair, the arrival of which is announced by more letting-off of fire-crackers and playing of music, passes to the principal entrance between the ranks of the banner-bearers, musicians, lantern-carriers, etc., who have fallen into

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A MAIN STREET IN PEKING

To face p. 48

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line on either side. The bridegroom, who has previously concealed himself while the "go-between" has brought out a young child to salute the bride, now comes out and taps on the chair with his fan. He bows to the chair and to the bride's brothers. The chair is opened either by the female attendants or "bridesmaids" who have accompanied her, or by the "luckiest old women" of the family, and the bride, still closely veiled, steps out. The bridegroom then returns to the hall, and the bride is carried on the back of a female servant over the threshold, on which has been placed a brazier containing a charcoal fire, on each side of which are arranged the shoes borne in the procession as a gift to her future husband. Sometimes a saddle is placed under the brazier, sometimes the saddle alone is used. As she is conveyed over the fire, another female servant holds above her head a tray containing several pairs of chop-sticks, some rice, and betel-nuts. The bridegroom has taken his place on a high stool, where he receives the obeisances of the bride. He then descends and they drink, or go through the gesture of drinking, from two cups of spirit joined by a red cord. The bride having retired to her chamber is soon followed by the bridegroom, who, removing her veil, either with his fan or with a carpenter's foot-rule, sees her face for the first time, though it is still partially concealed by a veil formed of strings of pearls. The foot-rule is used to indicate that this is done according to rule (*kuei-chü*). The pair then proceed to the ancestral hall and kowtow to Heaven and Earth, their ancestors, the parents, and each other. This worship sometimes takes place earlier, as soon as the bride and bridegroom meet. This is the moment when the two become husband and wife, for, (though the marriage is not complete until the whole ceremonial, including the revisit of the bride to her parents has been performed), if, for legal or other purposes, the question were

Arrival at the Bridegroom's House.

Removal of the Veil.

Joint Worship of Ancestors.

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to arise whether the man and woman had been married or not, it would be decided by ascertaining whether or not this "announcement to the ancestors" had been made. At the beginning of the Manchu Period it became the custom to postpone this "worship of the ancestors" until the next day; but this was regarded as disrespectful. The bridegroom having further poured out a drink-offering to his ancestors, the couple are escorted to the bridal-chamber, which has been profusely decorated with emblems of fruitfulness and wealth, such as orange trees, strings of "cash," and the tapers, etc., which were carried in the procession. Red paper streamers, on which felicitous phrases are written, are suspended from the top of the bed. The bridegroom salutes the bride, and they sit down and partake of tea and cakes. The veil of pearls is now drawn aside and the relatives and wedding guests enter and pass remarks on her in the freest possible manner, regardless of her feelings, and frequently in a most uncomplimentary manner, while the relatives and friends also invoke blessings on the union. The demeanour of the bride during this ordeal (aptly called "teasing the bride"), fixes her reputation with the relatives for life. The bridegroom now rejoins the guests, who are expected to make money presents to his family. In the evening a banquet is prepared by the bride in honour of her parents-in-law, and she waits upon them and the guests in person, after which she herself partakes of a repast. Up to this time she is not supposed to have eaten anything, and to do so would be regarded as most unlucky. The guests play jokes mercilessly upon the newly-married couple, especially the bride, making them guess conundrums, do magicians' tricks, and answer embarrassing questions. If they fail in any of these things, they have to pay forfeits of cakes. This custom is attended with much drinking and often with quarrelling. Among the

The Bridal Chamber.

The Bridal Banquet.

Practical Jokes.

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poor, male and female all sit at the same table, but many richer families entertain the ladies in a separate room. The merry-making frequently lasts all night. The bride retires first, and later on, when the guests are about to leave, they escort the bridegroom to the door of the chamber, and either disperse or wait until the pair are supposed to be asleep, when they endeavour to enter the house in order to carry off some article, which the bridegroom must redeem at their own price.

Bride Revisits her Parents.

On the morning of the third day after the marriage, the bride revisits her parents. During the evening of the same day the husband pays his respects to his parents-in-law, who entertain him at a feast. He then returns home. This formal ceremony of the third day brings the wedding festivities to a close.

Filial

In order to complete our account of Chinese domestic institutions, it is necessary to examine the laws of succession and inheritance and the relations between parents and children.

Inheritance and Succession.

I have referred already to the supposed succession through the female line and the importance of female kinship, but from the earliest historical times succession to property in the male line was already the rule. So little change has taken place in regard to inheritance that it will be sufficient to state briefly the rules, or rather customs, in force during the Manchu Period recently terminated.

Devolution of Property.

Titles, etc., descended to the eldest son, but real and personal property devolved equally upon all the sons of wives and concubines. The eldest son, however, would usually have a larger share, so that he could adequately carry on the ancestral sacrifices, but the father's power as to the disposition of his property was as absolute as his power over his children. The eldest son was usually regarded as

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trustee for the others. He was the heir or "continuator" of the line, but, primogeniture being unknown, he as a rule enjoyed no special privilege of inheritance. He became *paterfamilias* at his father's death if he had no uncle older than himself. Succession to the throne was hereditary in the male line, but the sovereign had the power to nominate one of his own sons, or even any one not of royal blood, though if not unworthy the eldest son would usually be appointed.

If there were no continuator, the property escheated to the Crown or passed to the daughter. If there were no other son, a natural son would either receive the whole or divide it with the chosen representative of the family. Members senior to the inheritor acted as executors. Estates were indivisible during the lifetime of the parents or grandparents.

Rule if no Continuator.

A man might adopt a person as son or daughter or, if he had a son, as grandchild, but not as brother, wife, or concubine. Childless families nearly always adopted heirs, and these were almost invariably sons. About five per cent. of all the families in China had adopted children. The most frequent cases were the adoption by a childless uncle of a nephew, whose son became the uncle's grandson. Adoption rested on a contract of purchase. Where the adopted nephew was the only continuator of his father's line, the family resorted to the ingenious device of his marrying another wife, whose male issue were regarded as the children of the uncle. The nephew had thus to perform double ancestor-worship, but on their decease he mourned only one year for his parents and three for his adopted father. If he had only one son, the latter had also to marry two wives, the issue of one being regarded as that of his grandfather and of the other of his great-uncle.

Adoption.

Double Ancestor-Worship.

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Object of Adoption.

The general object of adoption was to continue the stock, and only children of families bearing the same surname could be adopted. The adopter was usually, but not necessarily, older than the adopted. No distinction was made between a natural-born and an adopted son.

The transaction was in reality a sale, but an adult married son was practically never sold into adoption against his own will. The wife of the adopted followed her husband, but the children remained in the family of the *paterfamilias*. A *filius posthumus* might be adopted for a man by his relatives or friends in case he died without leaving any male descendants.

Effects of Adoption and Arrogation.

The effect of adoption and arrogation was to give the adopted all the rights of a son. He could not be sold without the consent of his natural parents. If sons were born to the adopter after the adoption, so that the reason for the adoption no longer existed, the transaction might be cancelled, provided the parents were willing to take their child back, but if none of the family survived the contract had to be adhered to.

Wills.

Wills, in the Western sense of the word, were and are unknown in China, because unnecessary. Property being owned, not by individuals separately, but by the family as a body, devolved by law either to the male children in equal shares, or, failing them, to collaterals according to fixed rules. The head of the family was regarded as having the use for life of the family property, even that acquired by himself, and he had to pass it on without materially altering the mode of devolution. But, as has been stated above, the power of and respect for parents allowed modifications to be made if they so wished. Thus, they might designate a particular part of the patrimony for a particular son or member of the family, or to support an unmarried daughter; and this was often done by what were called *i-shu*, *i-ming*, *i-chu*, or *i-kao*, which were the dying commands or last instructions. These might

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be either written or verbal and need not be witnessed, though it was usual for one or more relatives to add their names when the instructions were in writing. This was the only kind of will known in China.

Guardianship.

If children were left orphans at an early age, male relatives of the same surname assumed the guardianship in the absence of anyone having a right to the *patria potestas* or of any testamentary dispositions. If no relative of the same surname existed, one of a different surname was chosen. The guardian had the full *potestas* over the child and the usufruct, but not the possession, of the child's property.

Relation of Parents and Children.

The relation of parents and children seems to have undergone considerable improvement since the earliest times, but the power of the father over his children, whether real or adopted, was still unlimited. He, or after his death the mother, could chastise, sell, expose, or kill them, but the selling or killing of a grown-up son was strongly reprobated by public opinion and practically an impossibility. Towards the end of the period chastisement causing the death of a child was a statutory offence. Instances, however, did occur in which the law was ignored with impunity, when a son was regarded as a disgrace to the family. When I was in Hangchow about sixteen years ago, a case was brought to my notice in which the police had taken a man in charge for stealing an umbrella, and the reason he gave was that he had nothing to live on, having run away from home because the family had decided to beat him to death. I was glad to hear afterwards that my representations had had the desired effect.

Infanticide, due chiefly to poverty, though not practised by the poor only, existed in most parts of China, but was frequent only in some districts, especially in the south-east and south, and in times of famine or great distress. Though it was a punishable offence to kill a disobedient child, there does not seem to have been any prescribed punishment for what

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is usually designated by the term "infanticide," *i.e.*, the killing of an infant at, or soon after, birth; but edicts and proclamations, based on appeals to the popular sense of humanity, were issued against it when excessive. Male children were practically never killed, so that the term in China might be reserved for the killing of female infants only. The province most notorious for the practice was Fukien, and this is supposed to have been due to the very large number of the male inhabitants killed by the garrison which T'ai Tsung (763–80) left there when he made his expedition to Corea. It thus became necessary to keep down the number of female births. Female children, being regarded as a burden, were killed, drowned, or exposed either immediately on birth or soon after. A son is not merely one who continues in the family and carries on the ancestral sacrifices, but a positive wealth-bringer, while a daughter not only brings in nothing, but is a source of expense until her marriage. The Chinese love of gain, coupled with disappointment at the birth of a girl instead of a boy, might induce the poor to kill the newly-born infant, especially where, as often happened, some superstition affected the case.

Infanticide.

Most Prevalent in Fukien.

Other provinces notorious for infanticide were Chekiang, Kiangsi, Kuangtung, and Kuangsi. Public feeling, when not indifferent, might be said to condemn this inhuman practice, though approval was often expressed. In the latter case, a Chinese, in giving an opinion, would probably have at the back of his mind some concrete fact, which he would not reveal to his questioner. In speaking with the Chinese, one finds that, while verbally they condemn the practice when directly questioned, the usual attitude is rather one of indifference. One feels that in their own case they would be guided by circumstances and, other things being equal, by utilitarian considerations. The natives I have consulted

But also in Other Provinces.

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during my long residence in China all admitted the existence of the practice, and certainly did so without any sign of wishing to exaggerate their own vices, to which tendency some writers have attributed the accounts which describe infanticide as extremely prevalent in China.

Question as to Extent of the Evil.

Of course, when it is said that infanticide is prevalent in China, it must not be supposed that a resident in that country would often see cases of it. The truth seems to be that the practice exists, and that it has at some periods and in some districts been more prevalent than in others. Like the bubonic plague, it would break out with varying intensity during one age in one or more districts; and while some would be almost free from it, in others it would be endemic, and occasionally epidemic. If severe, an antidote in the shape of a magisterial prohibition was applied. To say that infanticide is no more prevalent in China than in the Christian communities of Western nations is to raise a point which could only be decided satisfactorily by reliable statistics, exceedingly difficult to obtain.

Argument Based on Proportion to Population.

It is scarcely necessary to say that much controversy has taken place regarding the extent of the practice. The misunderstanding has arisen, I think, chiefly through want of definiteness in the use of the word "prevalent." If on the average one case of infanticide occurred every day in each magisterial district throughout China, that would be a total of about 1,200 per day, or, say, about 400,000 a year. That would mean that every 1,000 inhabitants killed one child per day—an incredibly large total. Let us suppose that only one case takes place every day in each province, say, twenty cases per day for all China. That would be 7,300 every year. In this case, every 60,000 of the inhabitants kill one infant each year. There being but five provinces with a bad reputation for infanticide, we may divide this by four; that is, five cases per day for all China, 1,825 cases

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in a year, and every 240,000 inhabitants killing one infant annually. When we look at the teeming populations of the large Chinese cities, and the great number of these congested social communities struggling for the means of existence, we may well believe this estimate is by no means excessive. Ten infants (which would mean a total of 73,000 per annum for all China) might, most certainly, be killed in a Chinese province every day without any foreigner knowing anything about it. Much stress has been laid on the statements of some missionaries and other foreigners that they have seen so few cases, but the admitted fact that cases have often been seen seems to lend support to the opposite conclusion rather than that the small number seen implies the small number killed. We must remember that a Chinese province is, on the average, about the size of England and Wales. Supposing the total to vary as the deaths, for example, in outbreaks of bubonic plague, we may conclude, until reliable statistics are forthcoming, that the number of deaths from infanticide varies between these two figures (say 2,000 and 7,000 per annum), and that in an ordinary year there could quite conceivably be 2,000 cases of infanticide, whereas during an "epidemic" year this might be multiplied several times. On this assumption, the relative proportion in England would be roughly about 250 and 2,500 per annum respectively, both of which would probably be considered as justifying the application of the word "prevalent" to the practice. The probability is that in a certain proportion of poor families (though, of course, not in all) the ratio of the sexes would be adjusted, as the children were born, so as to suit, first, the family purse, and, secondly, the Chinese ideal of five sons to two daughters. If we assume that 2,000,000 female infants are born in China every year, the killing of even 20,000 would still leave 1,980,000 alive. Some writers have argued (1) that more male than female children are born in China; (2) that every adult Chinaman has a wife, and those

Foreigners' Means of Observation Limited.

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who can afford it two or three concubines as well ; and (3) that therefore, to constitute infanticide a national crime, girls must be born in an overwhelmingly large proportion to boys.

An Apparent Paradox.

Merely to say that more male than female children are born, and that every man has at least one wife and most more—without saying anything further—seems to involve a contradiction. In the absence of any known disturbing cause, we must presume that the ratio of male and female births has not materially altered during recent times. There is nothing to show that up to, say, the last generation but one, more females were born and since then more males. But, unless there are more females than males in China, how is it possible for practically every adult man to have one wife, and for all who can afford it to have two or three concubines as well ? We cannot suppose that the female birth-rate in China was so obliging as to increase sufficiently as long as it suited one side of the argument and to stop when it began to suit the other ! If the female births are sufficient to provide every adult man with, on the average, one wife and a fraction of a concubine (some men have no concubines, some have one, and some have many), it would not involve any overwhelming increase in the number of female births to provide, say, even as many as 10,000 a year more as victims of infanticide. Whether this figure, or, if not, what other figure greater or less, would be considered as " constituting infanticide a national crime," must be a matter of opinion. Leaving out of account the enormous number of females in brothels all over China, we may, for the sake of argument, say that of the 400 millions of people inhabiting that country, 100 millions are unmarried boys and girls (say under eighteen years of age). That leaves 300 millions of married men and women. If every married man has on the average a wife and a little more, more than half of these 300 millions must be women. If 140 millions are men and 160 millions women,

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and there are thus more women than men in China, the supposition (and probable fact) that more boys are born than girls requires explanation; and the solution seems to be that, though more males are born, more females survive: there is a greater mortality of male children. The reason for this, given me by a physician, is that there is greater difficulty at birth in the case of males. This greater mortality of male infants may even be one excuse for using infanticide to keep the proportion of the sexes in the family more equal, or at least to keep down what, from the native point of view, would be an over-large predominance of females; thus solving, in the crude Chinese way, a problem which presses for serious consideration in England. Unless any sudden change has affected the ratio between male and female births (which is not alleged), if more boys are born than girls, then more boys than girls must die before reaching adult age (after which the rate of mortality appears to differ very little); otherwise there would not, to put it bluntly, be enough women to go round and to provide as well the enormous number of concubines and inmates of disorderly houses existing in China.

Solution of the Problem.

Probably, with the spread of more humane ideas, the practice will gradually die out—is possibly on the wane already; but, as things are, the conclusion of the matter would seem to be that, absolutely, supposing from 2,000 to 7,000 infants are killed every year (though this is not a large proportion for a population of 400,000,000) the custom must be regarded as prevalent in China; but relatively, taking into consideration that in some countries as many as two-thirds of the child population are wilfully destroyed (which, in the same proportion in China would, at the very lowest estimate, be more than 1,000,000 per annum), the practice cannot in this sense rightly be said to be prevalent in China; though it must always be remembered that infanticide, like an epidemic,

Conclusion of the Matter.

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must vary at different periods and in different districts. Absolutely, infanticide in China must be regarded as a great evil; relatively, as a small one. In the absence of any such analytical consideration of the matter as that given above, there can be no doubt that the popular ideas existing on the subject in Western countries have been exaggerated, and that it has been imagined that far more female children are annually killed in China than is actually the case.

Patria Potestas.

Patria potestas could be acquired through marriage, procreation, adoption, or purchase. It continued during the lifetime of the father, unless the son entered the government service, and over the daughter until she was married. Divorce re-established it; and a widow remained in her husband's family. If acquired by one already under it, the *potestas* pertained to his *paterfamilias*. Children, whether of the wife or concubine, were all under the *potestas* of the father. *Patria potestas* ceased if the father became insane or poor, or in case of self-arrogation, sale of a son into adoption, or of a daughter into marriage, or if the child entered a religious order, or were exposed while still of tender age. The father might relinquish his power without taking into account the wish of the child, and there was no emancipation, as in Rome. A son became *sui juris* on the death of his father; so also could a daughter, if a widow with sons.

Filial Piety.

Filial piety (involving reverence due from the child to the parent, from the parent to the magistrate, and from the magistrate to the emperor), which formed the central doctrine of the Confucian system, having been raised by the Chinese practically to the status of a religion, it was to be expected that conspicuous or extreme instances of it should be recorded in history and held up as examples to future generations. We have already noted the custom of erecting honorary archways, etc., to chaste widows, or to those who preferred suicide to remarriage. Similar marks of approval were erected in cases

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of extraordinary filial piety. There are in Chinese history twenty-four examples of filial piety, which give a good insight into the quaintness and *naïveté* of the Chinese mind. I quote three of them—

Amusing his Aged Parents.

"In the Chou dynasty lived Lao Lai Tzŭ, who was very obedient and reverent towards his parents, manifesting his dutifulness by exerting himself to provide them with every delicacy. Although upwards of seventy years of age, he declared that he was not yet old, and, dressing himself in gaudy-coloured garments, would frisk and cut capers in front of his parents. He would also fetch buckets of water, and whilst carrying them into the house would pretend to slip, and falling to the ground would wail and cry like a child. All this he did in order to amuse his parents.

Catching Carp in Winter.

"During the Chin dynasty lived Wang Hsiang, who early lost his mother, and whose step-mother had no affection for him. His father, also, hearing many evil reports against him, in course of time ceased to regard him with kindness. His mother was in the habit of eating fresh fish at her meals, but, winter coming, the ice bound up the rivers. Wang unloosed his clothes, and went to sleep on the ice in order to seek them; when suddenly the ice opened of itself, and a brace of carp jumped out, which he took up and carried home to his mother. The villagers, hearing of the occurrence, were surprised, and expressed admiration for one whose filial duty had been the cause of such an unusual phenomenon.

Diverting Mosquitoes from his Parents.

"Wu Mêng, a lad eight years of age, who lived in the Chin dynasty, was very dutiful to his parents. They were so poor that they could not afford to furnish their beds with mosquito-curtains; and every summer night myriads of mosquitos attacked them without restraint, feasting upon their flesh and blood. Although there were so many, yet Wu would not drive them away from himself, lest they should go to his parents and annoy them. Such was his filial affection!"

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CHAPTER IV

CEREMONIAL INSTITUTIONS

Bodily Mutilations

The earliest, most influential, and most general kind of government; the kind which more than any other regulates social life, is the government of ceremonial observances. These have held tyrannical sway in China from the earliest times. The first class of these observances to be noted is that of Bodily Mutilations. In China, as might be expected from a people largely industrial, they have been comparatively few. With the exception of those inflicted as punishments, most of them date from Post-Feudal times. The Chinese have not been in the habit of knocking out the front teeth, nor of wearing bones or crabs' claws or large copper rings stuck through the septum of the nose, or large stone cheek studs, or pieces of wood thrust through the central part of the upper lip. The bodily mutilations found in China are the following:—flattening the skulls of babies by means of stones—the Manchus applying the process at the back, the Chinese at the sides—so as to cause them to taper at the top; breaking or bending of children's backs to give a scholarly stoop; tattooing (formerly a punishment, now found only amongst hill tribes); cutting the hair and nails as a sign of grief (this custom was afterwards reversed); castration; compressing women's feet (from about A.D. 934 onwards); cutting, piercing, or marking the flesh in confirmation of oaths; branding of impressed soldiers; and piercing of ears for ear-rings. Further mutilations, such as cutting flesh from the arms or thighs, piercing the tongue, cutting off a finger, arm, or hand, or disfiguring the face, were performed for

Influence of Ceremonial Observances.

Mutilations in China.

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filial purposes, and widows mutilated themselves to prevent remarriage. In warfare, ears were cut from the bodies of the slain, and at times people maimed themselves to avoid conscription or oppressive exactions, military or other. Priestly practices—branding the crown, cutting off fingers, etc. —existed, though forbidden and temporarily in abeyance about A.D. 1110. In 1621 the Manchus imposed on the Chinese the custom of shaving the front part of the head and wearing the queue, or "pigtail," as a sign of submission, the custom being abolished on the subversion of Manchu rule in 1912. The cruel mutilations inflicted as legal punishments will be referred to under "Laws."

With the exception of the cutting of ears from the vanquished in warfare, these mutilations were not, or at least are not, the direct result of trophy-taking from the slain. They had become signs of submission or propitiation, or of that voluntary imitative emulation known as fashion.

Not Direct Result of Trophy-Taking.

The most important of the mutilations named were castration, the cramping of women's feet, and the shaving of the front part of the head and adoption of the queue, the two last having long given the Chinese some of their most noticeable distinguishing characteristics. The first seems to have been inflicted as a punishment in the earliest times, but, later, palace eunuchs became a recognized institution. For the cramping of women's feet, various origins have been assigned. The custom is supposed to have begun at the end of the fifth century, A.D., with P'an Fei, the favourite concubine of Hsiao Paochüan (known in history as Tung Hun Hou), the sixth sovereign of the Southern Ch'i dynasty, who reigned from A.D. 498–501. The emperor, enraptured with her dancing, caused the ground on which she trod to be strewn with lilies made of gold-leaf, or (as some state) the ground to be covered with gold-leaf and the soles of her shoes to be carved with lilies in relief, so that each step left behind

Compressing Feet, etc.

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the impress of a "golden lily"; hence the term "golden lilies" or "lily hooks" applied to the small feet of women.

"Golden Lilies."

By some writers the origin of the practice is ascribed (probably through confusion of dates and individuals) to the time of Ch'ên Hou Chu (A.D. 583–89), the last sovereign of the Ch'ên dynasty. Others, again, think it originated during the period of the Five Dynasties (A.D. 907–60), in the attempts of the court ladies to imitate the exceptionally small feet of Yao Niang, the favourite concubine of Li Yü, the last prince of the Southern T'ang State and pretender to the Sung throne. Her feet are described by some (possibly her rivals) as not naturally small, and therefore bandaged so as to make them the shape of the new moon and small and graceful for dancing. It has been argued, but on insufficient grounds, that the later date is more probable, since the Empress of Hsüan Tsung (A.D. 713–56) had large, or at least unbound, feet. The practice is also, though somewhat crudely, described as a method adopted by husbands to prevent their wives "gadding about."

Various Theories.

It was only gradually that the custom spread all over the empire. It was firmly established by 1068–86 and flourished especially in the Sung and Yüan dynasties. It was seized upon by the Chinese women to distinguish themselves from the large-footed, nomadic Tartars and Hakkas. The most probable explanation of the fashion is that, like the wearing of long finger-nails, it, when once established, came to be regarded as a sign of freedom from the necessity of labour, which also reciprocally aided its establishment and ensured its permanence, but, so tyrannical is fashion and so powerful the instinct of competitive imitation, that the cramping of feet spread even among the labouring classes, especially in the south. It is probable that actual mutilating compression of the feet

Gradual Extension of Custom.

Its Probable Explanation.

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was only a later result. At first a small shoe was worn which could only accommodate a part of the foot, the wearer merely inserting her toes and being supported, when walking, by two maids. The next step was to bandage the feet of the children, so that their shape was modified to fit the small shoes. Towards the end of the Manchu Period steps, initiated by some foreign philanthropists, were adopted to stop the cruel custom, and it is now dying out, that is, comparatively few new cases occur. The binding process was usually begun at the age of from six to eight, sometimes later. The fashionable size was about four inches, the longest five to seven inches; the smallest two-and-a-half. The bandages were applied so as to bring the second, third, fourth, and fifth toes right under the foot, the instep being thus made to bulge into a crescent form. The result of the compression is said to have been that the body was hardly ever free from pain, until the toes became entirely numb and atrophied, and not always even then; and doubtless many cases of spinal disease could be traced to it.

Mutilation Begun in Infancy.

When the Manchus conquered China, they imposed upon the Chinese (in 1621) as a sign of subjection the shaving of the hair on the front part of the head and the plaiting of the long unshaved hair at the back into a queue or "pigtail," though the length and richness of the hair forming the plait rendered the latter term a misnomer in most cases. The Manchu costume is said to have been designed in imitation of the principal characteristics of the horse, the favourite animal of that people, the broad sleeves representing the hoofs, the queue the mane, etc., and it was this derived fashion which was imposed on all who wished to escape massacre when the Chinese Ming emperors were deposed. Not only did the fashion spread all over the empire, but absence of the queue eventually became a sign of disgrace to the Chinese themselves, and on the subversion of the Manchu supremacy

Origin of the Queue.

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268 years later, the queue had in innumerable cases to be forcibly removed by the agents of the newly-inaugurated Republic. It was both interesting and amusing at the time to watch soldiers stationed at the ends of narrow streets, armed with blunt scissors, seize passers-by who had not obeyed the order and saw off their queues amid the victims' remonstrances and struggles. Thus the once-detested badge of defeat and servitude was only relinquished with great reluctance.

Funeral Rites: Feudal Period

The ceremonial accompaning the attitude of the Chinese towards their dead has probably had greater effect in shaping the national life than any other influence.

Preparation for Death.

These ceremonial observances began before death had taken place. The dying man was removed from his bed and his clothes changed. It was not considered proper to die on the bed, but the moribund was conveyed on to a bed formed of three boards supported on trestles and spread with mats, called the "water-bed" (because the corpse was to be washed on it), erected near the lattice-window. "A man," says an old ritual, "does not expire in the hands of women, nor a woman in the hands of men." When death had taken place, the death-howl was raised, the principal mourners crying, the brothers wailing, and the women wailing and stamping their feet. The non-recognition of the fact of death is clearly shown in the earliest times. The soul or spirit was supposed to have left the body, but might be induced to return. Consequently attempts were made to recall it. This was done from the house-top, the caller facing the north. During the calling, the principal costume possessed by the deceased was held up towards the west, the idea being that the garments dearest to the soul would be those which it would be most likely to recognize and re-enter.

The Death-howl.

Recalling the Soul.

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The ordinary call was simply: "Ho–o–o. So-and-so, come back," but for the king it was: "Come back, O Son of Heaven!" and there were appropriate variations for each rank, as there were various forms of addressing the living. The longer revival was delayed, the further the soul was supposed to have wandered, and the wider became the circle of activity in recalling it. "In the case of the ruler of a State," says the *Li Chi*, "the soul is recalled in the smaller back chamber, in the larger back chamber, in the smaller ancestral temple, in the greater ancestral temple, at the gates of the arsenals and treasuries, in the four suburbs of the capital."

Preserving the Corpse.

In order that the soul on its return might be able to re-enter the body, it was necessary that the latter should be preserved in good condition. The first step towards this end was to wash the corpse. This was in most cases done with rice and millet washings. The head was also washed, and the hair combed, the beard trimmed, and the nails pared. All this was done on the "water-bed," the corpse being then covered with the shroud, lights placed by its side, and a torch lit at night in the central part of the courtyard. The furniture was removed, and the deceased's family vacated the premises. The kinsmen and friends paid visits of condolence, presenting grave-clothes, and performing the ceremonies of leaning over the corpse, "laying-on of hands," and other marks of respect. Rulers were escorted on these visits by exorcists and invokers, whose duty was to request the soul to partake of the offerings, to interrogate the spirits as to future events, and to expel disease and evil in general, especially droughts. The corpse was fed, the mouth being filled with rice, cowries, and other articles supposed to arrest decomposition. Food was also placed by the side of the corpse, and the fact that no funereal vessels were allowed to be used for this purpose, and that the food was placed near to its right hand, indicate that the body was not yet regarded as dead. The dressing, coffining, and

Corpse not Regarded as Dead.

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burial were delayed as long as possible in hope of revival. The grave-clothes were numerous and elaborate, and graduated for all ranks. The corpse was carefully preserved from mutilation, which would annihilate its chances of satisfactory resurrection, so much so that mutilated bodies were excluded from the burial grounds, these being merely temporary abodes of those awaiting return to life. There is, however, curiously enough, no evidence of embalming being practised, nor any but two or three, evidently exceptional, references to it in Chinese literature.

Preparations for Burial.

Various mourning and sacrificial ceremonies were performed before burial. Coffins were made occasionally of solid marble or granite, but mostly of thick, substantial wooden boards. They were varnished, but, in the case of men belonging to the lower official ranks, the lid was left unvarnished. For a king the coffin was fourfold. No nails were used, the boards being fastened together with wooden or bone pegs, ropes, and straps, a survival from the time when iron was unknown. Vaults were in most cases of wood, and both

Coffins and Vaults.

they and the coffins were objects of great solicitude, often prepared during lifetime. The encoffining of a corpse did not by any means indicate that burial was at hand. The coffin (*kuan ts'ai*), now called *ling chiu*, or "coffin of the spirit," since it contained the corpse, was stored for a considerable time inside the dwelling, baskets with scorched grain and dried fish and meat being placed near by in case the dead should revive, with an inscription (the prototype of the more modern soul-banner) made by the invoker, to guide the wandering soul to the spot where the body had been deposited.

The Funeral Procession.

During the interval and on leaving the dwelling—perhaps months or even years later—sacrifices were performed, and were continued whilst the funeral procession was on its way to the grave. These processions were very elaborate. They were

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COFFINS AWAITING BURIAL

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headed by the *k'ai lu shên* or 'spirit that clears the way," and accompanied by music and presents sent by friends. Linen banners were used to direct the men who drew the catafalque. The latter, which represented the dwelling occupied by the deceased during his lifetime, was of large size, wheeled and curtained, decorated with the insignia of rank, and drawn to the tomb by large numbers of men, 500 for a feudal prince (usually close connections of the deceased). These drawers of the catafalque were all gagged by means of a stick fixed in the mouth by two cords knotted behind the neck, lest their talking might drown the orders given by the sixteen controllers, under the superintendence of the Minister of War, who gave his signals by means of a clapper held in his hands. This talking is said to have been originally the death-howl, or reproach or recall of the dead, and the gags employed to give it a more mournful wailing sound (the gagged being mostly related to the deceased). Many sacrificial articles, including food, silk, clothes, implements, weapons, etc., were placed in the tomb. Human beings, wives, concubines, slaves, etc., were buried with the dead, cases occurring with great regularity up to A.D. 1662, when, on the death of one of the wives of the emperor Shun Chih, thirty persons were immolated to her manes. Possibly some later cases might be discovered, but the cruel practice has long been obsolete. The articles placed in the tomb were originally intended for the use of the soul on its return to the body, but were later placed on instead of in the grave, and regarded as a sacrifice to the manes which resided with the corpse. Gradually, moderation was practised, coarse implements being substituted for fine, and weapons of straw and images of men, wives, slaves, horses, etc., for the real sacrifices formerly made. The slaying of wives, etc., was supplanted by sutteeism, or voluntary self-sacrifice,

The Catafalque and its Bearers.

Articles Placed in Tomb.

Sutteeism and Semi-sutteeism.

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and later by semi-sutteeism, or dwelling upon the tomb, first permanently and afterwards temporarily. This was finally replaced by periodical visits. If youths died before marriage, it was considered necessary, in order to prevent them from being condemned to the dreary existence of a lonely widower, to place deceased females in the same tomb. This sacrilegious removal of women from their graves being forbidden in the Later Feudal Period, the practice grew up of marrying deceased men and women at the time of their burial and interring them in the same grave. These post-mortem marriages are mentioned in Chinese literature of all ages.

Post-mortem Marriages.

Mausolea and grave-mounds (representing the dwellings of the dead and often copied from them in general outline) were graduated according to rank, and were sometimes of enormous size. The tumuli of monarchs alone had grave-tunnels constructed in them. Ramparts and battlements were built, guards established on the site, and grave-trees planted, both for concealment from enemies and in order that the *yang*, or life-giving influences, might prevent decay.

Mausolea and Grave-mounds.

Mourning rites in early times were so severe that they often entailed the total ruin of the deceased's family. The strict doctrine of filial obedience prevented any great modifications during the course of many ages, and, though bodily discomfort may be less, vast sums are still spent by the filial in fulfilling their duties towards their deceased relatives. Originally, on going into mourning, the body was bared and most of the raiment surrendered to the dead, but the latter was retained during the Later Feudal Period. The head-gear was abandoned and the hair tied in a knot. Washing or shaving the head and cleansing the body were prohibited. The mourners screamed, wailed, stamped their feet, and beat their breasts, surrendered the dwelling and its belongings to the deceased, and removed to mourning sheds formed of clay, eating only

Mourning.

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rice-gruel, sleeping on straw with a clod of earth for a pillow, and speaking on no subjects save death and burial. No ornaments were worn. Mourning garments were of unbleached and undyed materials. Public duties were resigned, and music, sexual relations, marriage, and separation from the clan prohibited. Fasting and the wearing of mourning, which originated in the practice of abandoning everything to the dead, became in time somewhat less rigorous, but persisted in an oppressive form throughout the whole of Chinese history.

Monarchical Period

Magnificence of Funeral Rites under the First Monarchy.

The above is an account of the funeral rites as existing under the Early and Later Feudal Periods, when the customs of the nation became stereotyped. After the establishment of absolute monarchy (221 B.C.) the style of funeral observances became more magnificent. Temples and parks were attached to imperial mausolea, which were of enormous size. *Ballistae* were constructed which, when trespassers ventured too near the sacred spot, mechanically discharged arrows. Large numbers of articles, including mirrors, torches, bamboo tablets (books), clothes, boxes of jade, insignia of rank, etc., were placed in the crypt. Living people were not infrequently buried with the dead, the record stating that "those destroyed in this wise were very numerous." On the death of Shih Huang Ti, the "First Emperor," in 209 B.C., after enormous quantities of valuables had been deposited in the tomb, it was suggested that, as the knowledge of the workmen and mechanicians who had made the machines and concealed the valuables might lead to their being stolen, the gates leading to the tomb were closed, "so that none of the workmen, artisans, or men who had been employed in storing away the treasures ever came out again." Occasionally there were reactions towards economy, but they were only temporary and not permanently effectual. The

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interval between death and burial gradually grew shorter. The curious devil-dispeller still drove in the van of the funeral procession. He was known as the " Rescuer of the Country," and had four eyes of yellow metal, was covered with a bear-skin, and dressed in a black coat and red shirt. Bearing a lance and wielding a shield, he stood on a cart drawn by four horses. The custom of dwelling upon the graves became more general, indicating a decline in human sacrifices. Clay, wooden, and straw effigies were now placed in the grave as substitutes for the realities. After 1368 victualling of graves was no longer officially prescribed for the common people. The number of images representing the actual beings and things formerly placed in and later on the tomb, was regulated by law. They were generally arranged in parallel rows on either side, forming an avenue leading to the tumulus. On some of the pillars in these avenues were placed small couchant figures of an animal called *t'ien lu*, as tokens by which the spirit would be guided back again to the tomb. A conspicuous example of these avenues survives in the case of the Ming Tombs, the beautiful mausolea of the emperors of the Ming dynasty, which are among the most interesting places in the neighbourhood of Peking. These, unlike most of those belonging to earlier times, escaped demolition by the succeeding dynasty.

Changes in Later Times.

During the Manchu Period, the funeral rites remained substantially the same as before, but the corpse was not often fed, and its dressing was less elaborate. Priests were cremated; but, in the case of the laity, coffins of substantial construction were indispensable. Nails were used only by the poor. Portraits of the deceased were preserved in the hall. The practice of " watching the coffin " was not much observed. Home burial disappeared, the coffin being only temporarily stored in the house. The funeral processions of the wealthy were very elaborate. The coffin was still sometimes

Funeral Rites under the Manchus.

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STONE FIGURE IN AVENUE LEADING TO THE MING TOMBS

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borne by fellow-villagers and clansmen, but the bearers no longer wailed; only the kinsmen howled and lamented in the funeral procession. A white cock placed on the catafalque was supposed to ward off evil spirits, and to secure the presence of the life-preserving *yang* element. The soul tablets were placed in the grave and the soul, being inducted into them, conveyed back to the home. Dwelling on the tomb now became extinct. Families and clans had their own cemeteries, the grave of the ancestor being the largest of all and placed in the centre, those of younger generations decreasing in size. These graveyards resembled villages of clay huts, the inexperienced eye being at first sight unable to distinguish them from ordinary hamlets. There were thus complete "villages of the dead," each surrounded by a clay or brick wall, in the same way as villages of the living used to be, with the entrance in front. This wall has now often been reduced to a single piece of straight wall forming the back boundary of the burial ground.

The Cock on the Catafalque.

Cemeteries follow General Plan of Village.

Mourners now no longer dwelt in mourning sheds, but the house of the deceased was generally evacuated. On the whole, the rules were much simpler than formerly. The period varied between twenty-seven months for the first and three for the fifth degree. Fasting disappeared, but contact with mourning was still regarded as hurtful to man and displeasing to the gods.

Mourning.

Republican Period

As with other classes of phenomena, so with funeral ceremonial, there has, since the institution of the Republic, been a tendency to abandon the older formalities and adopt more modern or Western customs. But, though there is in many cases a conspicuous decrease in elaborateness and outward show, it would be a mistake to conclude that the Chinese have, to

Funeral Rites under the Republic.

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any very marked extent, abandoned the essentials of the ceremonial accompanying death and burial. It is more usual than not to see funeral rites lasting for days, and processions which to all intents and purposes are those of feudal times, in the houses and streets of Chinese cities. And this is only to be expected, for ceremonial connected with the dead is more tenacious than any other.

Modern Funeral Processions.

On June 28th, 1916, I witnessed, from a distance of a few feet, the funeral procession of Yüan Shih-k'ai, the then recently deceased President of the Chinese Republic. It will be interesting to note briefly the mixture of Eastern and Western ceremonial adopted on that occasion. The large wooden coffin had been prepared during the President's lifetime. His remains were robed in the ceremonial dress, embroidered with the twelve spheres emblematic of power, worn by him on the occasion of the Grand Sacrifice to Heaven. On his head was placed the classical square-topped *mien* or diadem, but without the strings of beaded precious stones belonging to it in early times. The funeral *cortège*, which was about a mile long, started from the Huai Jên Hall, in the Palace, where the body had lain in state, and proceeded to the railway station just outside the Ch'ien Mên, the central gate in the southern wall of the Tartar City. At its head were twenty heralds, riding on horses, followed by a battalion of infantry with reversed weapons. Then came a naval band, another battalion of infantry, another band, and another battalion of infantry. The bands played the "Dead March in Saul" and Chopin's "Funeral March." The soldiers and musicians were dressed in the costume of Western countries, with bands of black crape round their left arms and on their sword-hilts. At the head of the next part of the procession, which was entirely Oriental, walked a long double line of men bearing flags, fans, soul-streamers, etc., followed by a band

Soldiers and Musicians.

Banners and Streamers.

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of yellow-robed lama musicians playing flutes. Then came the pavilion of the "Spirit that clears the way," and a large cumbrous sedan-chair, covered in white, borne by numerous red-clothed bearers, said, but on insufficient authority, to have contained the encoffined body of Yüan's favourite concubine, who, it is related, predeceased him by only a few days. Behind it, preceded by a squadron of lancers, was the large red-lacquered State carriage of the President, built somewhat on the lines of the State carriages used in the West. Following this in order were the President's horse, a band of Buddhist monks beating drums and cymbals and blowing weird notes on long trumpets each borne by two men, the President's band of musicians, numerous incense-burners, and stands containing various articles used in sacrificing. Banners in large numbers, embroidered with the deceased's crests and coats of arms, were carried on either side of the procession. A small white-covered sedan-chair, containing the Tablet of the Soul (but not yet inhabited by the latter), was followed by stands on which were sacrifices of food, etc., the swords, uniforms, and decorations worn by the President, as well as a very large number of wreaths which had been brought or sent from all parts and placed around the coffin during the lying in state. After these walked the members of the Cabinet and the principal government officials dressed in frock-coats and top hats, a *posse* of officers in bright blue uniforms, and the foreign diplomatic body, also in official dress.

State Carriage, etc.

The Soul Tablet.

Official Mourners.

Walking with slow steps in front of the catafalque were the chief mourners, the late President's sons, etc., all clothed in white. Over their heads was borne a large white canopy supported on poles upheld by bearers on either side. The catafalque was of the elaborate, old-fashioned type, of enormous size, covered with rich embroidery of red and

Mourning Relatives.

The Catafalque.

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gold, of the shape of a Chinese temple-building, the sloping "roof" of which culminated in a large central knob of gold. It was carried by eighty bearers dressed in green. At intervals during its progress, large quantities of white paper "money" of circular shape and about five inches in diameter were thrown aloft into the air, and fluttering about against the blue background of the clear sky added to the picturesqueness of the scene. This "money" is to satisfy the evil spirits which are always supposed to be lurking around on these occasions. The relatives of the deceased have in fact to buy a clear passage for the deceased to his grave. Following the catafalque and forming the end of the procession were white-covered sedan-chairs conveying some of the female relatives of the deceased and other members of his household, all dressed in the Chinese white or undyed garb of mourning with the white band round the top of the head.

Spirit-money.

On arrival at the entrance to the railway station, the catafalque was placed under a large shed made of matting and draped with grey cloth. Here sacrifices were performed in front of the coffin, which was then placed on the train, together with the Tablet of the Soul, the wreaths, streamers, and decorations. The train, which also conveyed the mourners, left soon after for Chang-tê Fu, the native place of the Yüan family, a salute of 101 guns being fired and all the temples tolling their bells, as the body of the deceased was thus borne away from the scene of his successes and failures.

Sacrifices and Salutes.

The student of sociology would have preferred to see a procession entirely Oriental in character, except for the small body of Occidental diplomatists. As it was the rite was hybrid. It will have been noticed that, whilst the mourning colour of China is white, and this was worn by the deceased's relatives, the civil and military officials wore on their sleeves and sword-hilts bands of black crape or gauze. The mandate

Hybrid Rites.

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ordering the wearing of these bands for twenty-seven days commanded also the use of black-edged paper and envelopes in official correspondence, the adoption of black borders by the native official newspapers for a like period, the use of black ink in sealing documents, the half-masting of flags, the closing of schools on the days of the funeral and of national condolence, and the suspension of feasts, celebrations, amusements, etc., for periods of twenty-seven or seven days, according to their kind. The procession and the signs of mourning were a very clear illustration of the period of transition through which China is now passing.

Laws of Intercourse—Feudal Period

Propitiation of the Living.

The laws governing intercourse between equals and between superiors and inferiors have been another most potent factor in Chinese social development. Propitiation of the living in societies incompletely developed is as indispensable as propitiation of the dead. In order that those to be propitiated may be easily recognized, we find them distinguished by concrete marks, which, as time went on, grew in number and variety. In feudal times in China, the king's palace-buildings and walls, carriages, crowns, robes, food, banners, weapons, etc., were distinct in size and number from those of the princes, and distinctive head-dresses, garments, and badges were worn by different ranks, whose writing-tablets, attendants, horses, etc., were graduated in number according to a fixed scale. About 500 B.C., the right to carry a staff, formerly belonging to all classes, was restricted to men of rank, because, so it is recorded, a wheelwright was seen using his as a tool.

Concrete Distinctions.

Ceremonial observances, characterized under the earliest kings by comparative simplicity, were in the Later Feudal Period pushed to an extreme limit. Hardly an act, either in official or social life, was performed without its assigned ceremonies. Dress, speech, the postures to be assumed on all occasions,

Ceremony under the Chous.

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were all minutely regulated. Ceremonial observances were regarded as "the greatest of all things by which men live." They were most completely embodied in elaborate and comprehensive works constituting the ancient classical rituals, the *Chou Li*, *I Li*, and *Li Chi*. They are all of very ancient origin, though the editions we now possess have been revised by later writers. The last two contain the rules for the guidance of individual conduct, the *Chou Li* dealing more with the various officials and their respective duties. The *Li Chi* divides ceremonies into several general classes, namely, Auspicious, Mourning, Hospitality, Military, and Festive; and arranges them also under *six* headings: Capping; Marrying; Mourning Rites; Sacrifices; Feasts; and Interviews—comprehending 300 greater and 3,000 smaller rules. Certain purposes were ascribed to each class. They commenced with the capping ceremony, which took place on the attainment of manhood; were most important in the rites of mourning and sacrifice; conferred the greatest honour at audiences in the royal and feudal courts; and tended to promote harmony at country festivals and archery celebrations.

The Three Rituals.

Whilst kings, courtiers, officers, etc., were bound hand and foot by these rigid ceremonial rules, the daily life of the people was also subject to strict ceremonial. Some quotations from the *Li Chi* will show the minute detail with which every action was regulated—

Ceremony in Daily Life.

"A lad should not wear a jacket of fur nor the skirt [so as to leave him unhampered in executing any service required of him]. He must stand straight and square, and not incline his head in hearing. When an elder is holding him with his hand, he should hold the elder's hand with both his hands. When the elder has shifted his sword to his back and is speaking to him with the side of his face bent down, he should cover his mouth with his hand in answering. When he is following his teacher, he should not quit the road to speak with another person. When he meets his teacher on the road, he should hasten forward to him, and stand with his hands

Attitude towards Superiors.

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joined across his breast. If the teacher speak to him, he will answer; if he do not, he will retire with hasty steps. When, following an elder, he ascends a level height, he must keep his face towards the quarter to which the elder is looking. When one has ascended the wall of a city he should not point, nor call out. When he intends to go to a lodging-house, let it not be with the feeling that he must get whatever he asks for. When about to go up to the hall (of a house) he must raise his voice. When outside the door there are two (pairs of) shoes [put off from the feet of those who had entered], if voices be heard, he enters; if voices be not heard, he will not enter. When about to enter the door he must keep his eyes cast down. As he enters, he should (keep his hands raised as high as if he were) bearing the bar of the door. In looking down or up, he should not turn (his head). If the door were open, he should leave it open; if it were shut, he should shut it again. If there be others (about) to enter after him, while he (turns to) shut the door, let him not do so hastily. Let him not tread on the shoes (left outside the door), nor stride across the mat (in going to take his seat); but let him hold up his dress, and move hastily to his corner (of the mat). (When seated), he must be careful in answering or assenting."

Rules of the Road.

"On the roads, men took the right side and women the left; carriages kept in the middle. A man kept behind another who had a father's years; he followed one who might be his elder brother more closely, but still keeping behind, as geese fly after one another in a row. Friends did not pass by one another, when going the same way. (In the case of an old and a young man carrying burdens), both were borne by the younger; and, if the two were too heavy for one, he took the heavier. A man with grey hair was not allowed to carry anything, though he might do it with one hand." "An officer of superior rank, of the age of sixty or seventy, did not walk on foot. A common man, at that age, did not go without flesh to eat."

The rules for eating together are laid down with great punctiliousness—

When Eating with Others.

"When eating with others from the same dishes, one should not try to eat (hastily) to satiety. When eating with them from the same dish of rice, one should not have to wash his hands [no implements being used in eating (at least, their use not being as yet general) it was necessary to keep the hands as clean as possible]."

"Do not roll the rice into a ball; do not bolt down the various dishes; do not swill down (the soup). Do not make a noise in eating; do not crunch the bones with the teeth; do not put back fish you have been eating; do not throw the bones to the dogs; do not snatch (at what you want). Do not spread out the rice (to cool); do not use chop-sticks [instead of a spoon] in eating millet. Do not (try to) gulp down soup with vegetables in it, nor add condiments to it; do not keep

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picking the teeth, nor swill down the sauces. If a guest add condiments, the host will apologize for not having had the soup prepared better. If he swill down the sauces [which should be too strong to be swallowed largely and hurriedly], the host will apologize for his poverty. Meat that is wet (and soft) may be divided with the teeth, but dried flesh cannot be so dealt with. Do not bolt roast meat in large pieces."

"When they have done eating, the guests will kneel in front (of the mat) [no chairs were in use at this time], and (begin to) remove the (dishes of) rice and sauces to give them to the attendants. The host will then rise and decline this service from the guests, who will resume their seats."

On Leaving.

"(When any single visitor is leaving), he will go to his shoes, kneel down and take them up, and then move to one side. (When the visitors retire in a body) with their faces towards the elder, (they stand) by the shoes, which they then, kneeling, remove (some distance), and, stooping down, put on [the host would be seeing the visitors off, and, therefore, they would keep their faces towards him]."

Some Further Hints.

"When two men are sitting or standing together, do not join them as a third. When two are standing together, another should not pass between them. Male and female should not sit together (in the same apartment), nor have the same stand or rack for their clothes, nor use the same towel or comb, nor let their hands touch in giving and receiving. A sister-in-law and brother-in-law do not interchange inquiries (about each other). . . . (Even) the father and daughter should not sit together on the same mat."

Presenting a Bow.

The presentation to another of a bow one would imagine to be a simple matter enough, yet here is the procedure, as given in the *Li Chi*, by which this present would be made according to the strict rules of Chinese etiquette—

"In every case of giving a bow to another, if it be bent, the string of sinew should be kept upwards; but if unbent, the horn. The giver should with his right hand grasp the end of the bow, and keep his left under the middle of the back. The parties, without regard to their rank as high and low, bow to each other till the napkins at their girdles hang down to the ground. If the host wish to bow still lower, the other moves to one side to avoid the salutation. The host then takes the bow, standing on the left of the other. Putting his hand under that of the visitor, he lays hold of the middle of the back, having his face in the same direction as the other; and thus he receives the bow."

Such cases as these reveal to us at least part of one of the

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causes which helped to keep China in a state of rigidity, and they help us also to understand better why foreigners from the West were long regarded as "uncultured barbarians."

A Cause of Rigidity.

The slavish attitude towards superiors was shown in many ways, *e.g.*, the sword was laid aside on approaching the sovereign, too great familiarity on the part of a minister to a duke was punished with death, etc. Between equals, minute rules regulated the attitude of friends towards each other. Hospitality and interchange of friendly gifts were common, all actions of the host and guest following stereotyped forms. And towards inferiors it was not considered right to show any "contemptuous familiarity," for then they would not "put forth all their strength" on behalf of their superiors. But age, in this as in other matters, was always respected: "If the king wished to put questions to an officer of ninety, he went to his house, and had rich food carried after him."

Towards Superiors, Equals, and Inferiors.

Visits were also carried out according to minute ceremonial regulations. They were classified into two main divisions: ordinary visits and ceremonial visits, the former comprising business, advising, inquiring, asking after health, and condoling; the latter, congratulatory, farewell, and returning of thanks. It is not known when visiting cards were first used, but if in use at this time they must have been made of strips of bamboo or pieces of silk, for paper had not yet been invented. Women were not present. Friends seldom embraced. Kissing was unknown or very rare. The host stood on the east, the guest on the west. Refreshments were offered, including cakes and spirits (tea being as yet unknown). The host bowed, and the guest reciprocated. The guest, on leaving, was escorted out after three bows.

Visits.

The giving of presents, which originates in mutilations—*i.e.*, at first, part of the body is presented and, in later times, a substitute, with the object of propitiating the receiver—was

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a common practice in early China. The feudal princes brought presents to the king's court, and received from him "chariots and robes." The "articles of introduction" they presented were the five instruments of gem-stones, three kinds of silk, two living animals, and one dead one. The rules governing giving and receiving were extremely minute, *e.g.*, a horse or sheep when presented was led with the right hand, but a dog with the left, a bird was presented with its head to the left, and a captive when presented was held by the right sleeve (to frustrate violence), etc. Inferiors frequently made presents to superiors, and friends to friends, and there were, of course, special presents on occasions as births, marriages, etc., the latter case including handmaids. Coffins, often bestowed by rulers upon deceased statesmen as a mark of favour, came later to be presented during lifetime.

Presents.

Obeisances and forms of address, arising out of the attitude of the conquered towards the conqueror, formed a conspicuous element in Chinese ceremonial. Obeisances were of various kinds. If a duke were sending a report to Court, he would bow with his head to the ground to the messenger who was to carry it. There were also obeisances for meetings, feasts, congratulations, etc., the number of bows being minutely specified in each case.

Obeisances.

Adulatory forms of address, originating in propitiation and expressing a fact, namely, that the speaker is a "slave" or "servant," may be called obeisances expressed in words. "Your slave" is the usual description of himself used by a Chinese servant when speaking to his master. The *Li Chi* details the forms of address used on almost every possible occasion; for example—

Forms of Address.

"In ordinary conversation with his parents a son does not use the term 'old' with reference to them." "The son of a Great Officer (of the king, himself equal to), a ruler, should not presume to speak of himself as 'I, the little son' (for so the young king styled himself

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during mourning). The son of a Great Officer, or other officer of state, should not presume to speak of himself as 'I, the inheriting son so-and-so' (instead of 'I, the sorrowing son'). They should not so presume to speak of themselves as their heir-sons do. When his ruler wishes an officer to take a place at an archery meeting and he is unable to do so, he should decline on the ground of being ill, and say, 'I, so-and-so, am suffering from carrying firewood' (the language of a peasant used by Mencius in mock humility)."

There were various terms for referring to the death of the Son of Heaven (the king), a feudal prince, a great officer, an ordinary officer, a common man, a corpse on the couch, a corpse in the coffin, a winged fowl, a quadruped and a man slain by an enemy in flight.

"In sacrificing to them, a grandfather is called 'the sovereign grandfather,' a grandmother 'the sovereign grandmother,'" etc., a husband 'the sovereign pattern.' While they are alive, the names of father (*fu*), mother (*mu*), and wife (*ch'i*) are used; when they are dead, those of 'the completed one' (*k'ao*), 'the corresponding one' (*pi*), and 'the honoured one' (*pin*). Death in old age is called 'a finished course' (*tsu*); an early death, 'being unsalaried' (*pu lu*)."

Various terms were also used in referring to sacrificial animals, birds, fish, water, grain, vegetables, and other articles, whilst some names and terms were *tabu* as being unpropitious, *e.g.*, those connected with mourning; thus it was the custom to change the sound of a character which had been part of a deceased sovereign's name and also to make some alteration in its written form.

"Your Excellency."

Between A.D. 25–58 the term *ta jên* (lit., "great man"), which means "elder," "you," "Your Excellency," first came into use. During subsequent ages it was one of the most frequently-employed forms of address in official intercourse.

Monarchical Period

Later Concrete Distinctions.

During the post-Feudal periods of Chinese history, concrete marks of distinction continued to be a prominent feature in ceremonial. The king's apartments, carriages, horses, retinue, flags, robes, headgear, gems, food, weapons, utensils, etc., differed as before from those of his ministers and others.

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He had more city-gates and towers than a prince. In the Han times (206 B.C.–A.D. 221) traders were forbidden to wear silk or ride in carriages. In 179 B.C., the *kuo hao*, or dynastic designation, was first assumed by the emperor on ascending the throne. During the following period (A.D. 221–589) the colour of the shoes of scholars, policemen, and workmen was limited to green, black, and white, and that of man and maid-servants to black only. From the Sui dynasty (589–618) onwards the use of yellow was reserved for the emperor and things appertaining to the imperial court. Attempts to enforce economy by means of imperial decrees met with but little success. In the time of the Sungs (960–1280) officers of the seventh and higher ranks were allowed to drink tea (which in its universally-known form is supposed to have come into general use during the fourth century, A.D., though an infusion of a leaf resembling it was used during the Later Feudal Period), and complimentary tea was served at Court, a custom which was reflected in the serving of tea on official visits in every yamên in the country down to the present day. Scholars wore shoes when interviewing officials—as distinguished from attendants—and subjects, who up to this time had been allowed to sit in the presence of the emperor, were, after the end of the Sung Period, no longer permitted to do so, standing or kneeling being the only recognized postures. Under the Mongols (1280–1368), and probably earlier also, long finger-nails, and small feet in women were signs of gentility, as incapacitating for labour. Marco Polo vividly describes the gorgeousness of the ceremonial under these great potentates. Prayers and extreme forms of reverence were offered to the emperor, and no one was allowed to approach him unless clad in the most sumptuous raiment. The capital was the scene of the most lavish splendour. At the gorgeous festivals the wives of the Kaan and those of the princes

Privilege of Tea-drinking.

Gorgeous Ceremonial under Mongol Potentates.

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and nobles sat at tables with their husbands. Strangers from foreign States dined at a table set apart for travellers in the presence of the king, who feasted in full gaze of the people. So great was his prestige that everyone within half a mile of the palace "preserved a mien of the greatest meekness and quiet," no shrill voices or loud talk being heard. "And every one of the chiefs and nobles carries always with him a handsome little vessel to spit in while he remains in the hall of audience—for no one dares spit on the floor of the hall—and when he hath spitten he covers it up and puts it aside." They also donned buskins of white leather so as not to foul the carpet.

Ming Ceremonial.

The persistence of extreme forms of ceremonial is further seen in the fact that ambassadors who came to the Court of the Chinese emperors under the Ming *régime* (1368–1644) were expected to perform abject prostrations before the palace, and also in the reverence done daily before the emperor's portrait by officials in the provincial capitals and by the people at every new moon.

Red Visiting Cards.

Up to this time visiting cards, which consisted of pieces of paper about nine inches long by four wide, with the characters representing the name written in black down the middle, had been white, but they were now coloured red—white or biscuit-colour with a purple border being used in mourning.

Ceremonial under the Manchus.

During the Manchu Period (1644–1912) there was not much relaxation in the strictness of ceremonial observance, though it is stated by native writers that in ordinary intercourse formalities were not excessive, their number and minuteness increasing with the importance of the occasion. Anyone, however, who has seen these things with his own eyes knows that what may not seem excessive to people accustomed to rigid ceremonial usages seems superfluous, if not burdensome, to those who, along with greater freedom generally,

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enjoy relative freedom from the tyranny of ceremonial formalities.

Republican Period

Towards this greater freedom the Chinese have recently been making some progress. Since the institution of the Republic there has not only been a marked decline in ceremonial observances, but there has been a distinct tendency to adopt Western forms in a large number of cases. Chinese, who now mostly wear foreign headgear, are seen in the streets taking off their hats and shaking hands with each other. This is not only a change but an inversion of their former habit, under which keeping the head covered and abstaining from touching the clothing or body were marks of respect. Generally they seem rather to resent the act of a foreigner who greets them in what they now regard as the old-fashioned way, though it may be doubted if shaking hands, though sociologically a more advanced form, is more suitable and artistic than the bow made by joining the hands together and raising them towards the chin. However (since decrease in ceremonial is co-extensive with increase in freedom), the Chinese, by discarding many of the more oppressive forms of ceremonial, have in recent years gone some way towards freeing themselves from a bondage which must have been a continually-recurring source of discomfort and have wasted an enormous amount of the nation's time.

Progress towards Emancipation.

HABITS AND CUSTOMS

Feudal Period

Under the heading of Ceremonial Observances must be included those public and private acts which have become so habitual with the nation as to constitute part of its regulative structure. Some of these have a religious or semi-religious character, but owing to the wide prevalence of

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ancestor-worship and the absence of a separate "Church," are described here because religious and other forms of ceremonial in China are often incompletely differentiated. In the Feudal Periods of early China we find some festivals observed which have persisted down to modern times. In the earliest ages, however, these were few, and seem all to have been connected with the four seasons of the year and especially the ingathering of the harvest, which with an agricultural people doing little trade were of course of the highest importance. No regularly-established festival at the New Year (a period of intense cold over the whole of China as it then was) is recorded before the Monarchical Period; but we find a note of charming simplicity in the custom observed during the Early Feudal Period at the spring cultivating. In certain districts the oxen were fed with cakes and their horns adorned with variegated silk thread. During the Later Feudal Period we read of a more formal annual inauguration of agriculture by the king in person, who with his ministers, feudal princes, and great officers, "all with their own hands ploughed the field of God." Five days before this an ox, a ploughman, and agricultural implements all made of earth were placed outside the eastern gates of the cities, and on the day itself the local magistrates set up an altar and worshipped Shên Nung, the Founder and God of Agriculture.

Festivals.

The Spring Cultivating.

Sympathy with unrewarded merit is a characteristic of the Chinese, both ancient and modern, and has given rise to more than one national custom, though, in the case of that known as the Cold-Meat Festival, doubt has been expressed as to its connection with the incident to which its origin is commonly attributed. According to the Chinese tradition, related in at least two native works, one Chieh Tzŭ-t'ui, a Minister of the Ch'u State in the seventh century B.C., on his services being left unrecognized by his erstwhile

"Prohibited Smoke," or Cold-Meat Festival.

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co-exile the Prince of Chin, modestly retired with his mother to a thickly-wooded mountain retreat. On his refusal to obey the prince's summons, which had been prompted by a petition from his friends, the prince endeavoured to ensure immediate compliance by ordering the wood to be set on fire, but rather than be thus coerced Chieh and his mother agreed to perish together in the flames. Out of respect for their memories, the people of the district lit no fires and ate cold food for several days after the winter solstice, a custom which was repeated annually on the second day of the second moon. Any violation of this custom was supposed to cause the offender's crops to be destroyed by hail.

The Opening of Summer.

The opening of summer was also an occasion for festivity, apparently more so in some districts than in others. The custom seems to have consisted largely in the people presenting each other with roast geese.

Dragon Boat Festival.

At the beginning of the fourth century B.C. lived Ch'ü Yüan, who occupied one of the highest official posts under Prince Huai of the Ch'u State. He was honest and virtuous, but his prince was profligate and lazy. On account of his zeal in endeavouring to induce the latter to bestow more attention upon the affairs of State, he became obnoxious to his rivals, who caused him to be impeached and eventually dismissed. Having embodied the sorrow he felt at this injustice in a poem, since famous, entitled *Li Sao*, "Falling into Trouble," and being as much in disfavour with Prince Hsiang, who succeeded his father, Prince Huai, on the throne, he eventually drowned himself in the Mi Lo River. Some fishermen who witnessed the act rowed rapidly towards the spot where he disappeared, but Ch'ü Yüan was never seen again. To propitiate the spirit of the departed, they threw offerings of boiled rice into the river. The day on which the death of Ch'ü Yüan took place was the fifth of the fifth moon, and on the corresponding day of the following year the ceremony

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of searching for his body was repeated, and has been observed from that time to the present, throughout the length and breadth of the country, wherever there is a river, creek, or other suitable stretch of water.

The offerings thrown into the water are wrapped in leaves of the bamboo tree. In former times they were enclosed in pieces of silk, tied up with threads of five different colours. The quaint legend repeated by the people living near the Mi Lo to explain this is, that at first the offerings were simply thrown into the water without covering of any sort, but one day the spirit of Ch'ü Yüan appeared and informed the votaries that before he could reach them they were devoured by a huge reptile, and requested that they be disguised in the manner indicated, when the reptile would not dare to touch them. This reptile is also responsible for the shape of the boats which are the chief characteristic of this festival and give it the name by which it is known to foreign residents in China. They are constructed in the form of large dragons, and are supposed to have the effect of intimidating the monster which had been so greedy as to deprive Ch'ü Yüan of his boiled rice. They are very narrow and from fifty to one hundred or more feet in length, and gaily decorated with flags as well as sprigs of green leaves. The rowers, often as many as eighty or ninety in one boat, keep time with their paddles to the sound of a drum placed in the centre. Fore and aft stand men loudly beating gongs, in order to dispel the evil spirits and hungry ghosts which might annoy the manes of the deceased poet. On the prow of the boat, stands a man as if on the look-out for Ch'ü Yüan's body, waving his arms as if casting rice upon the waters. As might be expected, the excitement leads to rivalry, and to races between the various dragon boats, not infrequently ending in a fight. When the festival takes place in a thickly-populated district, the river is crowded with enormous numbers of boats of

Legend Concerning Offerings.

The Dragon Boats.

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all kinds, carrying spectators who let off fire-crackers and generally contribute to the gaiety of the scene. The festival, often prolonged for two or three days, lasts from ten o'clock in the morning to four in the afternoon, and is followed by dinners given by the guilds and by resort to theatres and gambling houses. In places where there is no river, as at Peking, the festival is celebrated by horse, cart, and camel races; in Mongolia, generally by theatrical performances.

The Mid-Autumn Festival, also called the Moon Feast, belongs to a later period, but one of the traditions as to its origin relates that, about 2150 B.C., lived Hao I, a famous archer, who had the additional accomplishment of being able to make cakes which conferred immortality on those who ate them. Presumably for good reasons of his own, he kept these cakes hidden from his wife, but during his absence she discovered them, and on his return was caught by him in the act of eating one. Unable otherwise to get beyond the range of his skilful bow, she fled to the moon. Another version is that Hao I, having shot nine of the ten suns which then illuminated the heavens, was requested by the sun-god to spare the tenth, in exchange for which he offered him a potion which would enable him to go and live in the sun; but, the magic liquid being drunk by his wife before he could take it himself, she became light as a fairy and flew away to the moon, where she has remained ever since, except when paying her annual visit to the earth. To the ceremony resulting from this legend we will refer presently.

Origin of Autumn Festival or Moon Feast.

Throughout the eighth moon festivals took place in honour of *Huo Shên*, the God of Fire. On this occasion the principal streets of cities and villages were illuminated, only not by means of the ubiquitous Chinese lantern, but by crystal chandeliers suspended across the thoroughfares, which in the south (where the festival was more consistently observed), were very

The God of Fire.

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narrow. Groups of figures made of wax and clothed in silk, representing episodes in ancient Chinese history, were paraded in processions, and worship of the god was carried on by Taoist priests at temporary altars erected in the main thoroughfares.

Towards the close of the year began the longest holiday enjoyed by the Chinese. The other two or three chief festivals lasted for five days each, but the holiday at the winter festival went on for a whole month. During this season various ceremonies were observed, and worship of ancestors, never neglected at any time, was carried on daily before the family shrine, but, beyond this and the usual feasting and drinking these festivals did not become established as such until after the close of the Feudal Period.

Winter Festival.

According to the Chinese classical writings, the first games were those of the bow and arrow. Assemblies, which assumed the character of festivals, took place for purposes of archery. The target was ornamented with the heads of animals. The archers were divided into several parties, and rewards distributed to the most skilful. The games played in these earliest times partook of a military character, but were also regarded as useful for "the practice of virtue and judging of character." In the *Li Chi* an account is given of the game of "Pitch-Pot," played at festal entertainments. It consisted of a contest in pitching darts into the mouth of a pot or jar (the neck of which was seven inches long with a mouth two-and-a-half inches in diameter), placed at a short distance from the players. It was filled with small beans to prevent the arrows from springing out. Cithern-players accompanied the game with a tune called "The Fox's Head." The winners were determined by counters, a certain number of which formed a "horse," the player who scored the largest number of "horses" being declared the victor. The losers were

Sports and Games.

"Pitch-Pot."

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given a cup, presumably of spirits, to drink as a penalty. The game was throughout accompanied by much ceremonial formality.

A kind of chess, called the "game of war" (*wei ch'i*) was played at a very early date, its invention being ascribed to the emperor Yao, though this ascription is discredited by several Chinese writers. The earliest game seems to have been played with 300 pieces, divided into two camps, black and white, and standing on the crossings of the lines, 361 in number. The object of the opponents was to surround each other's men and take up the crossings occupied by them. The game was also known as "meditation in solitude," and the "game of conversation," for the player who was waiting for his adversary to play generally had plenty of leisure to talk. In the Later Feudal Period a simpler game was played—simpler, that is, as regards the number of pieces, for the rules were quite complicated. The game was known as "*hsiang ch'i*," "elephant chess," a peculiar feature being a "river" running across the board. This "river" took up eight out of the seventy-two squares, leaving thirty-two on each side; but, as the pieces were placed on the intersections of the lines, there were in all ninety positions. The pieces were round discs of seven kinds, each having its name cut on it in either red or black. The four squares near each edge formed the headquarters of the king or general, out of which he and his two councillors or secretaries could not move. On each side of the headquarters were two elephants, two horses, and two chariots, resembling the bishop, knight, and castle of the Western game. In front of the horses stood two gunners, which moved like a castle, but captured like a knight. Five soldiers or pawns guarded the river banks, and could not return when once they had crossed the stream in pursuit of the enemy. The king or general could not be taken, but when he was checkmated the game was lost. The game was

Chess.

"Elephant Chess."

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much played by members of the literary class, both male and female, preferably in the open air, and usually for small stakes.

Games of both mental and manual dexterity are also recorded. In the game of shuttlecock, the shuttlecock was kicked with the side or sole of the foot, being then passed from one to another of several players, and often kept in the air with great skill for a long time without being allowed to touch the ground. Diavolo, which was the rage in Europe several years ago, was played by the Chinese long before the beginning of the Christian era. "Horn-goring" was a game in which people in sets of twos or threes butted at each other with ox-horns fixed on their heads. Kites, originally made of thin wood, were later made of paper. This pastime was more of a physical exercise than is generally supposed. The movements involved in it, such as "coming, going, pulling at the string, winding it up, and inhaling the fresh air with all their lung-power," were regarded as developing at the same time both strength and dexterity in children. Kites were of all sizes and forms—butterflies, beetles, birds of all sorts, and monstrous dragons could all be seen floating in the sky. The feeling of emulation was aroused in kite-flyers, who were by no means confined to children, by fighting the kites of others with their own, the player so manoeuvring the strings as to get his kite behind that of his adversary, and by hooking it on to capture it and add it to his collection. In these contests the owners of the rival kites were often quite invisible to each other.

Shuttlecock.

"Horn-goring." Kite-flying.

Other diversions were walking on stilts, which were tied to the feet, and are used at the present day both by children and youths and by members of travelling theatrical troupes, who, being thus raised above the ground, need no stage. Singing and dancing marionettes are also mentioned in the days of King Mu of the Chou dynasty; football was used as an exercise by

Other Games.

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soldiers; and cock-fighting, dice-throwing, etc., were resorted to as a means of recreation.

Boat-races and dog-races also took place, and at certain seasons imperial hunting and fishing expeditions occupied the leisure left over from political affairs. The great hunts were held in the spring, summer, and winter, the autumn being regarded as a close season, so as not to interfere with the labours of agriculture. Minute regulations governed this as they did almost everything else. When the end of the imperial hunts was indicated by the lowering of flags, the people fell a-hunting for themselves, having first scrambled for the game secured during the royal drives, it being considered bad form for the "great kitchen" to claim all the spoil. But for the people the chase was regarded more as a military exercise, for they were liable to be called upon to fill the ranks of the army, and were therefore supposed thus usefully to occupy their leisure after harvest-time. Bows and arrows were the weapons used. In summer, deer were hunted, and in winter, wolves and all other kinds of animals, while birds formed the prey during autumn. The preservation of certain kinds of animals was the duty of a special government department, but there were no game laws.

Racing. Hunting.

The general character of the indoor domestic life may be gathered from observation of the duties assigned in the Book of Rites to children in families of official rank. The "housework" was to be performed by the children or inferior wives. "At the first crowing of the cock, they should wash their hands and rinse their mouths, comb their hair, draw over it the covering of silk, fix this with the hair-pin, bind the hair at the roots with a fillet, brush the dust from that which is left free, and then put on their caps, leaving the ends of the strings hanging down." Having completed their toilet, they gather up their pillows and fine mats, sprinkle and sweep out the apartments, hall, and courtyard, and spread

Domestic Life.

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the mats, each one doing his proper work. Sons' wives, as well as sons, dress and wash with care and hang at their girdle or sash "their articles for use." Both sexes carry the "duster and handkerchief, the knife, and whetstone, the small spike and the metal speculum to get fire from the sun, and the borer to get fire from the wood," to which are added the implements of writing and archery for men, and for women a needle-case, silk, and thread. When fully dressed the children go to inquire after the health of their parents, bring them water to wash, and whatever food they may desire. They should not move the clothes, coverlets, fine mats or undermats, pillows, and stools of their parents. They should reverently regard their staff and shoes, but not presume to approach them, nor should they meddle with their food or utensils, unless it were to eat what was left from their parents' meals.

Meals.

The king had four meals a day (breakfast, the morning meal, dinner, and supper—all accompanied by music); the princes, three; and the people, two. Shoes were put off before entering an apartment. At this time chairs had not yet come into use; hosts and guests squatted on a mat on the ground and ate either from a low table a few inches high, or from dishes spread on the mat. All ate from the same dish, without chopsticks or spoons, but the former were used for soup with vegetables, etc., and the latter in eating millet. It was considered necessary to keep the hands clean even when no implements were used, for "one should not have to wash his hands." The "washing," when unavoidable, was usually a rubbing of the hands with sand (probably to save the inconvenience of having to dry them). Feasts were frequent, as well as musical entertainments with actors and singing-girls. Baths of tepid water were taken every fifth day.

Natal Ceremonies.

The observances on the birth of a child were numerous and elaborate. If the child was a boy, a bow was placed

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on the left of the door ; if a girl, a handkerchief on the right of it. Ceremonies of "receiving" and naming the child, of foretelling its future and shaving its head followed the detailed procedure elaborately enunciated in the Book of Rites. At six years of age he was taught the numbers and the names of the cardinal points ; at seven, boys and girls did not occupy the same mat nor eat together ; at eight, the teaching of yielding to others was begun ; at nine, they were taught how to number the days ; at ten, a boy learnt the different classes of characters and calculation, asked to be exercised in reading the tablets, and in the forms of polite conversation ; at thirteen, he learned music, to repeat the odes, and to dance the *ko*, the first of the civil dances (the *hsiang*, the first of the military dances, being reserved until he was full-grown) ; he also learned archery and chariot-driving ; at twenty, he was capped, the capping ceremony being a sort of initiation into manhood : "the capping showed that he had reached maturity" ; he then learned the different classes of ceremonies, and might wear furs and silk. He danced the *ta hsia*, which was the *ko* and *hsiang* combined, and "attended sedulously to filial and fraternal duties. He might become very learned, but did not teach others—his object being still to receive and not give out." At thirty he had a wife, and began to attend to the business proper of a man.

Education.

"Capping."

The attention bestowed upon a girl's education was practically confined to training in deportment, housework, and needlework. A girl was held in small estimation, because she was an expense to the family while she belonged to it, and no longer belonged to it after she was married. At ten, she ceased to leave the women's apartments ; at fifteen, she assumed the hair-pin ; and not later than twenty, though usually as much as six to ten years earlier, she was married. She received no literary training ; which, indeed, would from

Education of Girls.

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the Chinese point of view have been superfluous, because literary attainments were regarded solely as an aid to attainment of office, from which of course women were excluded; but she was taught the forms of sacrifice and worship, for she would be called upon to put these into practice either in her father's or her husband's family.

The ceremonies accompanying marital and funeral rites have already been sufficiently described.

Monarchical Period

Changes in Habits and Customs.

Though practically all the private habits of the home remained until within the last few years substantially as they are described in the early classical writings, we find that during the following 2,000 years new festivals, as well as some sports and games not previously known, were instituted.

New Year Festival.

Of the former it will be sufficient to describe, as briefly as possible, those which, through their persistence during many ages, have proved that they have entered into the fibre of the national life, and subserved some useful purpose, moral, aesthetic, or other. During the first part of the Monarchical Period, the New Year Festival assumed greater importance than before, or rather became a national festival. At dawn on the first day of the first moon all the functionaries in the capital repaired to the Imperial Temple to offer their congratulations before the tablet of the emperor, after which they did homage in the temples of Heaven, Confucius, the God of Literature, and the God of War. They then entered upon a series of congratulatory visits to each other and their friends and relations which occupied in most cases some four or five days. For the first fortnight of the year they indulged in entertaining each other in their homes, exchanging presents, and playing games, extra feasting and dissipation being indulged in on special days, such as the

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fourth day of the first moon, which was the feast of the god of Wealth and Happiness, etc.

On the fifteenth day of the first moon, the New Year festivities, which would otherwise have come to a close on that day, were prolonged owing to the occurrence of the Feast of Lanterns, which began on the first full moon of the year. This was really little more than a general illumination, but one in which practically every house in the empire was lighted up. Not only were lanterns suspended in great numbers both inside and outside the houses, but they were also carried through the streets, and some idea of the gaiety of the scene may be gathered from the fact that they were of every conceivable variety, usually made of transparent paper or thin silk, but of every colour and representing almost every imaginable object—elephants, lions, sheep, horses, flowers, soldiers, historical characters, grotesque animals, and a hundred others. What must have been the largest lantern in the world took the shape of a gigantic dragon, composed of a wicker framework covered with transparent material, cloth or silk, painted to represent the monster's scales. The head and tail were enormous and fierce-looking, the whole creature being often several hundreds of yards in length. Bearers, walking underneath so as to be practically invisible, supported it by means of staves, the rhythm of their walk giving a most life-like motion to the dragon's long waving body. The procession, accompanied by music, slowly toured the principal streets of the town, after which the bearers, who were always members of the highest classes of society, were feasted with cakes and wine.

Feast of Lanterns.

In spring, usually on the day after the Cold-Meat Festival, and particularly in the third moon, the annual worship of ancestors took place. Male members of Chinese families visited the tombs of their ancestors, and placed on them offerings

Ch'ing Ming.

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of food and drink—fowls, ducks, geese, pork, tea, etc.—and burned suits of clothes made of paper, paper money, paper men-servants and maid-servants, etc., for their use and service in the land of shadows. The graves were left gaily decorated with flags and streamers made of pink and white paper.

A pretty custom, of which the origin is uncertain, marked the middle of the sixth moon. Lanterns hung from the tops of poles were placed at night on th highest part of the house, and on the rivers the boat-people strung coloured lanterns or placed small coloured glass lamps all round their boats. From a distance the effect of these moving boats on the surface of the water was that of a seething hive of brightly coloured beetles. The custom was probably of religious or superstitious origin.

"Lamps on High."

On the seventh day of the seventh moon was the "Festival of the Seven Stars," also known as that of the "Two Stars," from the *Niu Lang*, Cowherd or Shepherd, and *Chih Nü*, Weaver-Girl, situated respectively on the east and the west side of the Milky Way, or River of Heaven, as it is called by the Chinese. These two were supposed to meet only once a year—on the night of the day on which the festival (which is first heard of in the Han dynasty) was subsequently celebrated.

Festival of the Seven Stars.

The legend related to account for the festival is as follows: the Weaver-Girl (Vega), the youngest of seven star-goddesses, having been sent on a special message to earth, fell in love with a cowherd, whom she married, and who, after death, was transported to the skies and became the star Altair in the constellation Aquila. For some sin of disobedience, such as that attributed to Adam and Eve, the King of Heaven decreed their separation, allowing them to see each other once a year only. On this day they crossed the river which separated them, the magpies fetching straws in their beaks

The Shepherd and the Weaver-Girl.

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to build a bridge, or making one for them by joining their wings. A number of other legends, too long to relate here, have been grafted on to this simple fairy tale. Owing to the inexplicable cause which makes some of these tales remain barren legends and others give birth to national festivals, the tale of the Shepherd and the Weaver-Girl causes men to pray during this month for a clear sky (for the pair were supposed to weep when separated) and women to ask Vega to bestow upon them greater skill in weaving and embroidery.

Feast of All Souls.

Another important festival, recorded as having originated during the Han dynasty, was the *Chung Yüan*, literally "Middle Origin" — the "Upper" and "Lower Origins" being on the fifteenth of the second and tenth moons respectively. It was also called *Shao I*, or "Clothes-burning," and by foreigners the "Feast of All Souls." The principal day of this festival was the fifteenth day of the seventh moon. Its object was the philanthropic care of poor spirits who had no one to provide them with spirit-world necessaries or to look after their graves. From the first to the fifteenth day of the month, garments, money, attendants, sedan-chairs, etc., made of paper were burned as offerings to the souls of the poor, lanterns were placed above the doors of houses or suspended from the boughs of trees, and lighted tapers in great numbers stuck along the sides of streets and roads. "A river," says a writer describing the scene at Canton about fifty years ago, "in the neighbourhood of a large city presents the most animated appearance. Large flower-boats, brilliant with rows of lanterns, glide along the stream, which reflects their numerous lights. They carry Taoist priests chanting a requiem for the souls of those who have perished by drowning, supposed to be flitting disconsolately over the surface of the waters. Men stationed in the bow burn paper clothes and paper money, others throw rice and vegetables into the stream for the spirits. At intervals floating lights are borne quickly past by the rapid

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current. These are lamps placed in earthenware vessels, and launched on the river or creek to light up the darkness for the wandering souls of the drowned." Masses for friendless souls were also said during several days in the temples, monasteries, and nunneries by priests, both Taoist and Buddhist, who with characteristic large-heartedness, interceded indiscriminately with the deities of either sect.

"Ascending Heights."

During my residence in China I have on certain occasions observed the natives, apparently without any particular reason, standing on hill-tops or high ground, some of them flying kites. The day on which this was done was the ninth of the ninth moon. Reference to the Chinese work *Chia Li Ta Ch'êng* showed that it was due to an occurrence during the period of the Three Kingdoms, which followed the extinction of the Hans. In order to avert calamity from his village, one Hêng Ching, a pious scholar, was ordered by Chang-Fei, a martial leader, to wear hellebore, ascend a high mountain, and drink chrysanthemum wine. In this small local incident we find the root of the Chung Yang Festival, also called Têng Kao, "Ascending Heights," and by some "Falling Hats," which was and still is observed at that season of the year. The idea of flying the kites, which were cut adrift when they had reached a good height, was that they carried away with them all the calamities which might be about to fall upon their owners.

Space does not allow us to describe some other smaller festivals, such as that of the Worship of the Sun on the twenty-fifth day of the eighth moon, or the Hsia Yüan, "Lower Origin," which took their rise in the early part of this period. We must also pass over those of the T'ang and Sung times—the *Chung Ho* and "Festival of Flowers" on the fifteenth day of the second moon, the "Festival of Mid-Heaven" on the same day as the Dragon-Boat Festival, and that of "Airing Clothes" (*T'ien Kuang*) on the sixth

The Moon Feast.

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day of the sixth moon—and, in conclusion, note briefly the Feasts of the Moon and of the Kitchen God, celebrated on the fifteenth day of the eighth moon and at the end of the twelfth moon respectively. The former festival, which is first heard of in the T'ang dynasty, formed with those of the Dragon and New Year, the chief national fêtes. As on other similar occasions, much eating, drinking, and general amusement accompanied by illuminations, music, and firing of crackers, were indulged in for several days. At this time presents and cakes all took the shape of the moon. At midnight on the last day, the fifteenth, a great banquet was held, during which the Goddess of the Moon was supposed to descend from heaven to give ear to the wishes of mortals. This festival developed out of the incident of the skilful archer mentioned in describing the previous period.

The Kitchen God.

As in China everything had its presiding deity, so was there also a God of the Kitchen (*Tsao Shên*). His festival took its rise in the time of the Chin dynasty. He had his altar in every kitchen, before which candles and incense were burnt daily. He fulfilled his duties without intermission from the beginning of the year until the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth moon, when it became necessary for him to return to heaven to present his annual report. On the day of his departure a sumptuous feast was prepared for him, so as to put him in a good humour, and those who were sufficiently shrewd were careful to include in the courses some syrup of special stickiness, so that when he got to heaven his lips should be sealed, and he would not be able to say too much about what he had seen on earth. As, on the first day of the New Year, his post was filled, not by himself but by another emissary from the celestial regions, any threats of punishment or revenge which mortals might otherwise have held over him, were of no avail.

During the period of the Han dynasties, we read of the swing being introduced from the north, and "used for

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practising smartness," first by men only and then by women, who hung it with coloured cords. The magic lantern is said to owe its origin to the grief of the emperor Wu at the death of his concubine, Li. Shao Wêng, a native of Ch'i, said he could cause her to reappear, and when night came set up a tent, and lit a lantern in it. The emperor sat in another tent and looked on, when lo! he really saw the form of his concubine. "This," says the Chinese author, "is how we have the magic lantern at the present day." Wooden figures which played at football and performed sword exercises, beat drums and played the fife, are ascribed to one Ma Chün (third century A.D.), who also "trained female musicians and dancing elephants." Planchette, tiddly-winks, "cash-guessing," or "cash-spreading," the object of which was to try to put four cash in a row in a certain order; "mora," and cock-fighting, are other games we find referred to in the literature of this period. In the following period (221–589) we find people in Spring playing at drag-hook (*t'o kou*) or tug-of-war, the rope, made of bamboo splints, being (doubtless not without exaggeration) described as "several *li* long"—a *li* at that time differing but little from its present length, which is one-third of an English mile. At each end the rope had several smaller ropes attached, which were held by the players. The game may possibly have been introduced by the Turks or Tartars, many of whom at this time were in imperial employ. Games of rope-walking and "hens' eggs" were played in open spaces, companies of comedians, sometimes numbering 5,000, created diversion at the imperial Courts. In the literature of the following period (589–960) we read of the game of "patting butterflies," played by the royal concubines in the palace, and of rabbits carved out of wood, and shot at by men divided into "sides" and riding on

Swing. Magic Lantern.

Planchette, etc.

Tug-of-war.

"Patting Butterflies." "Wooden Rabbits." Jang. Polo.

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horseback. *Jang* was a game played by throwing a shoe-shaped piece of wood on to another lying on the ground at a distance. The earliest mention of polo occurs in the writings of a poet, Shên Ch'üan-chi, who died in A.D. 713. It was a favourite sport of the T'ang emperors, and was played not only by members of the imperial family and by men before the Court, but by "ladies on donkey-back, with inlaid saddles and jewelled bridles," and even at night, "the ground being illuminated by a huge display of candles."

Theatrical Performances.

Up to this time there had been theatrical performances, but no drama proper. Well-organized plays only came into use during the T'ang dynasty. They seem to have originated through the prohibition by the emperor Yüan Tsung, (A.D. 720) of the licentious dances in place of which these theatrical representations were instituted. Watching these plays (a description of which will be given under "Aesthetic Products") has always been a popular form of amusement with the Chinese.

"Putting the Weight" and "Flying Tile." Cards.

In the Sung Period (960–1280) they played the games of "putting the weight" and "flying tile," and the introduction of card-playing and the "night-passing chart" are ascribed to T'ai Tsu, who ordered the courtiers to practise them in order to help them to pass the night. There is also mention of dice and dominoes. The former were used in the game of "horse-striking," which is thus described in the *Shih wu kan chu:* "For the game of *ta ma*, horse-striking, counters were used made of copper, ivory, or horn in the shape of cash. It consisted of fifty-four pieces, on the upper side of which were carved the names of good horses, which were put on a square cloth chart. It was played by throwing dice."

The Manchus do not seem to have introduced many new games, though their emperors were fond of sport and kept hunting-boxes. Most of the ancient forms of recreation and

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amusement continued to be in use, but the significant fact to be observed is that generally they had given up most of the more manly sports formerly practised. In open spaces could be seen men lifting poles headed with heavy stones, or playing the old foot-shuttlecock, or flying kites, or sending tame birds after seeds thrown into the air, or sitting on high ground and listening to the singing of their cage-birds, or sauntering through the fields or along the city walls. The games of children, contrary to the impression which would be made on a superficial observer, were numerous and varied, and tended to develop strength, skill, quickness of action, the parental instinct, accuracy, and sagacity. Nursery rhymes showed tender affection, but toys were unscientific. Cricket and quail fights were regarded as an amusement by young and old. In the north, in winter, skaters, but usually in no great numbers, could be seen on the canals and ponds.

Manchu Recreations.

During the last score of years or so the Chinese have shown an inclination to adopt Western games and sports, but not generally or independently, and chiefly in connection with schools, colleges, and clubs, owned or conducted by, or in association with foreigners. Here they may be seen acquitting themselves admirably at tennis, football, baseball, and other manly outdoor sports, and proving that a race popularly supposed to be able to "do without exercise" can take up such comparatively violent forms of it as these without apparently suffering any injury. And it is to be noted that those who are doing so are largely recruits from the families of the literary class, whose "burning of the midnight oil" for many centuries has rendered them, as a class, anaemic and wanting in physical stamina.

Western Sports.

Of the changes in private home life since the close of the Feudal ages, it is not necessary to write at length. The Chinese home changed very little, if at all, during the two thousand and more years which followed the establishment of

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the first absolute monarchy. Within the last two decades, however, greater freedom has been granted to women, and there has been a breaking-down of those barriers which until quite recently rendered Chinese homes and family life a sealed book to the foreign observer. It is no longer a disgrace involving "loss of face" for a foreigner to set foot in the house of a Chinese gentleman, and during a visit his wives and daughters are often present. Formerly the sight of a "foreign devil" meant a general skedaddle on the part of all the female members of the household, the only sign of their existence thereafter being suppressed giggles from some side apartment on the part of those whose curiosity had prompted them to take a sly peep at the unwonted spectacle through a crevice in the boards forming the wall of the room or a small hole made by applying the moist tongue to the surface of a Chinese window, then almost universally made of thin paper, a substance which is now being rapidly supplanted by glass.

Greater Freedom in Home Life.

Dining together has, of course, been a custom of the Chinese since time immemorial, but until lately Chinese and foreigners met at these functions only on official occasions or at a native restaurant. Giving a dinner at a restaurant was considered more complimentary than inviting the guest to the host's house. It is now not uncommon for them to ask foreigners to eat with them in their own homes, and to sit and converse afterwards, instead of following the old rule by which the guest took his departure immediately on the conclusion of the meal. Official banquets, though still somewhat trying functions, do not necessitate quite the same physical endurance as they often did in days gone by. When the late Li Hung-chang was Viceroy of Chih-li, with his official residence at Tientsin, I often dined at His Excellency's hospitable board. His guests were welcomed, as their official chairs passed through the dense crowds surrounding the

Banquets.

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entrance to the yamên, by bands playing the appropriate national anthem, the players putting their whole soul at least into the production of the greatest possible volume of sound. At the long tables Chinese and foreign guests were seated alternately, and the banquet was of the kind which was meant to suit both Eastern and Western tastes, Chinese and foreign courses alternating and being accompanied each by an appropriate wine. When it is considered that there were about thirty-two courses in all, and that it was "the thing" to partake of each, and also that, according to Chinese etiquette, the system of what is called *kan pei* involved the emptying of the glass of wine each time one was pressed to drink, and that these informal toasts were proposed continually, all through the meal, by any Chinese who happened to catch one's eye, it will be readily understood that the function, pleasing and interesting though it was, required a certain amount of physical endurance, and that tired nerves were scarcely soothed by the over-loud blast of trumpets which heralded the departure of each guest in turn. Only the excellent quality of the food and beverages averted any unpleasant after-effects.

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CHAPTER V

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

GENERAL GOVERNMENT—FEUDAL PERIOD

HAVING observed the ceremonial which accompanied propitiation of the dead and propitiation of the living, let us note next the ecclesiastical and political structures arising therefrom, taking the latter first. Political regulative structures divide themselves into Civil and Military, and the former into General and Local. Our first consideration, therefore, is the subject of General Government.

In the earliest times the nation was regarded as a large family of which the chief or king was the father. The main divisions were thus the king and the people.

Patriarchalism. The group of leading men around the king and those chosen to help him formed the nucleus of the governmental administration. In China, under the early patriarchal chieftains, the ablest citizen was elected by the sovereign to succeed to the rulership of the people, but with Yü the Great (2205–2197 B.C.) succession in the male line of the king's family was established.

Succession. The sovereign was regarded as holding his appointment by the will of heaven. As in all undeveloped societies, he combined in his kingship the duties of ruler, high priest, and commander-in-chief. His palace was both a temple and an audience-chamber. The tenure of his office was, however, dependent upon the prosperity of the kingdom and the people. This prosperity indicated the approval of heaven, or rather of his ancestors in heaven, and when it failed it was the duty of the most virtuous and powerful of the provincial princes to depose him and reign in his stead. At a very early time,

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the country inhabited by the Chinese (which, we have seen, was a comparatively small region to the north of the Yellow River) was parcelled out by the chief among his lords, who thus became rulers of small estates subject to and modelled upon the plan of the "middle kingdom." These lords had to present themselves at the king's court four times in every five years, the king making a tour of inspection to their States in the fifth. From them he received revenue and military service, and the neglect of any of these obligations was a sure sign that the power of the central authority was on the wane. Another indication of the same tendency was the lengthening, under the Later Feudal Period, of the intervals between the king's visits to twelve years. But after the beginning of the Chou dynasty in 1122 B.C., with the consolidation of the feudal system, the power of the king grew and remained supreme for about three-and-a-half centuries, when it became more and more nominal, the political condition finally degenerating into one of anarchy for the remainder of the period.

Beginning of Feudalism.

The sovereign's great "family," the people, have always been divided in China into four classes :—(1) ***Shih***, Officers, later called Scholars ; (2) ***Nung***, Agriculturists ; (3) ***Kung***, Artisans ; and (4) ***Shang***, Merchants. The ***Shih*** included the ***Ch'ên***, officials who carried on the governmental administration, and the ***Shên Shih***, a class of unofficial scholars, gentry, etc., including ex-officials and aspirants to office. It will be noticed that there was thus no distinct class comprising the nobility. As the ***Li Chi*** says : "There was nowhere such a thing as being born noble." Nobility in China was accessory to official rank ; thus a ***ch'ên*** might belong to one or other of five (later three) orders of nobility. The orders were : Duke (***kung***), Marquis (***hou***), Earl (***po***), Viscount (***tzŭ***), and Baron (***nan***). They had territory assigned to them, had gem-tokens, or symbols of nobility, of five grades, and took rank in various degrees with the feudal princes.

The People.

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Of the remaining divisions of the people, forming the working classes, the agriculturists were placed first as being the producers of the nation's food, and the artisans had precedence of the merchants, because a merchant was a mere distributor for profit of the goods made by others: a premium being thus set upon productive industry. Below the four recognized classes were the unclassed—servants, slaves, including eunuchs, etc. Of the working classes only three *nung* and one *kung* ever reached a higher rank.

Agriculturists, Artisans, and Merchants.

For administrative purposes the country was at first divided into nine *chou*, or provinces, containing a number of States, which at one time was as large as 10,000. The Chou rulers also divided the kingdom into nine provinces, each of which was about 1,000 *li* square and contained 210 States of three different sizes. The famous hills and great meres, being regarded as belonging to the people, were not included in the investitures. The Royal Demesne contained ninety-three States. The rest of the ground formed attached territories and unoccupied lands. We shall see later, in considering the system of land tenure, that the whole kingdom was regarded as the property of the sovereign.

Administrative Institutions. Territorial Divisions.

The seat of central government was, as we saw, not yet permanently fixed in one place, but was not infrequently transferred, sometimes for political reasons, sometimes on account of danger from floods. Naturally, the people at times found this somewhat inconvenient, and an interesting chapter in the Classic of History is devoted to the speech made by King P'an Kêng (1399–1373 B.C.) in order to persuade the people to follow him when he wished to remove the capital to Yin, but they "would not go to dwell there"—until suasion was followed by threats of dire punishment. The king, as head of the executive, was aided by ministers and an organized series of tribunals. His acts were subject to the

Movements of Capital.

Tribunals.

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control of the former, whose concurrence was requisite even in appointments to office. It was their duty "freely and openly to correct the sovereign's faults," and also to provide a supply of good men for the service of the State.

Scheme of Central Administration.

The general plan of the administrative machinery was to appoint two or three chief ministers, who exercised the functions of a Prime Minister as direct advisers of the sovereign, and to entrust the general affairs of the nation to a small number of special tribunals, the provincial administration being in the hands of Feudal Lords. Each central and provincial administrator had of course a body of officials under him, both together constituting the complete administrative hierarchy of the nation. The total number of officials was at first not great, being in the times of Yao and Shun only sixty and in that of Yü only 120. Of course, with the expansion of the empire and the multiplication of "posts," this number increased enormously. To this subject we will revert presently.

Under Yao the Great, the chief ministers were two functionaries known as *Ssŭ Yüeh*, Chief of the Four Mountains, who was Adviser to the King and Controller of the Princes of the various feudal States, and *Po K'uei*, General Regulator, "employed to regulate all affairs of government." Then came what were practically tribunals or government departments: the Minister of Works, Forester, Minister of Religion, Director of Music, Minister of Communications, and some brothers named Hsi and Ho—either two or three of each—forming a Board of Astronomy, to regulate the calendar and so facilitate agriculture. (The meaning of the Chinese words Hsi and Ho is, however, obscure, and may possibly indicate a tribunal of celestial affairs—a college of priests, who had to make offerings and address prayers to the gods.) Over the affairs of the different provinces were twelve *Mu*, Pastors or Lord-Lieutenants, who were under the control of the Chief of the Four Mountains. Each *Mu* superintended

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an unstated number of the *Chu Hou*, Feudal Lords or Nobles. There was not as yet any distinction between civil and administrative offices, the same individual fulfilling functions subsequently separated, nor was there any settled precedence amongst the central administrative officers.

Provincial Administration.

By Yao's successors certain changes were made. Shun appointed Four Supporters and Three Officers to advise and assist him in governing the nation. The General Regulator was now the head of all the Ministers, preceding the Chief of the Four Mountains, the Board of Astronomy had been abolished, and Ministers of Agriculture, Instruction, and Crime had been added, as well as a Regulator of Land and Water (classed in some Chinese works next to the General Regulator), whose main duty was to assign unoccupied lands to cultivators. The provincial administration remained as before. Under Yü, the founder of the Hsia dynasty, six great Ministers were also appointed. These *Liu Ch'ing*, Six Leaders of Hosts, also acted in a military capacity as leaders of the *Liu Chün*, Six Armies, which composed the fighting force of the king. The office of Official Recorder or Annalist, who filled an important part in subsequent ages, is said by some to have been in active operation at this time. There were now nine Pastors over the affairs of the provinces. By the system of the Shang dynasty, after the Left and Right Prime Ministers and the three Chief Secretaries of State, who formed a sort of Privy Council, came the six *T'ai:* the Secretary of State, Minister of Ceremonies, Historian, High Priest or Minister of Religion, Minister of Justice, and Diviner, (these six having charge of the *Liu Tien*, six codes of governmental regulations); and the five *Kuan:* the Ministers of Instruction, of War, of Works, the Controller of Official Appointments, and the Minister of Crime. Then followed the Six Treasurers and the Six Overseers of Industries. The Princes of States often resided at the imperial court, officers of the court

Changes under Yao's Successors.

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being also sent forth as Princes of States. The whole kingdom was divided into right and left parts, each under a Secondary Earl. Subordinate to these were Governors of Regions (*Fang Po*), who were the rulers of districts more than a thousand *li* (333 miles) from the capital, *i.e.*, outside the Royal Demesne, Governors of *Chou* (210 States), Chiefs of *Tsu* (thirty States), Commanders of *Lien* (ten States), and Elders of *Chang* (five States).

Changes under the Chous.

Under the Chous, the *San Ku* (lit., "Three Conspicuous Ones,") were added to the *San Kung*, the three statesmen of the first rank who had hitherto assisted the monarch, "discoursing of the principles of reason, and adjusting the States; harmonizing also and regulating the operations of Heaven and Earth." The *Ku* were assistants to the *Kung*, but were not subordinate officers of their departments, and, though both had more or less authority in the administration of affairs, this was almost entirely in the hands of the Six Chief Ministers (*Liu Ch'ing*), namely, the Prime Minister, the Ministers of Instruction, Religion, War, Crime, and Works.

The Six Great Ministries.

These Six Chief Ministers, also known as the Officers of Heaven, Earth, Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter, were the model on which the great administrative Boards of modern times were formed, and it will be useful to give briefly from the Classic of History and the *Chou Li*, or Institutes of the Chou dynasty, the information there given concerning their several functions.

The Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister, or Officer of Heaven, presided over the ruling of the various regions, and had authority over all the other officers, though he was more particularly concerned with the imperial household, revenues, and records. He had joint responsibility for the other five Ministries. His department was represented in the modern Manchu Period (A.D. 1644–1912) by the Board of Civil Office.

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The Minister of Education, or Officer of Earth, presided over education in the States, diffusing a knowledge of and inculcating the duties belonging to the five relations of society (sovereign and subject, father and son, elder brother and younger, husband and wife, friend and friend), and "training the millions of the people to obedience." His duties included the study of the celestial signs and the preparation of the calendar as an aid to agriculture. "Since the broad masses of the people were not supposed to know how to behave in the various conditions of life, the second among the administrative divisions, that of Instruction, headed by the Mandarin of Earth, had to take precautions for their welfare. The mandarin's jurisdiction extended to all the relations of life: the occupations of the people, their trade, civil services, religious duties, family matters, etc. The ordinary subject was, even in his private life, under government control. Thus a special mandarin was in charge of marriages. He had to see that no man remained unmarried after the age of thirty, girls being subject to marriage at twenty. The chief duty of this department was the levying of taxes in accordance with a budget drawn up by the Prime Minister. The Mandarin of Earth acted also as a kind of justice of the peace. Thousands of little rules had been made to prevent disorders of any kind; and in order to see that they were duly observed both by the government agents charged with their execution and the people who had to obey them, there were officers who had to watch public life and denounce any irregularity. . . All these measures were calculated to maintain the nation in a state of general goodness; and, lest the government itself should fail in its sacred duties, there were the *pao-shih*, officers endowed with power to reprimand the emperor [king] himself if he was at fault; the *ssŭ shih*, who had to instruct the emperor and the sons of the empire (*kuo tzŭ*), *i.e.*, the elder sons of high officials, in all that is good and virtuous; and the *ssŭ chien*, or public remonstrators, who

Minister of Education.

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were expected to mix with the people in order to study their lives, correct their faults, and report on any evils they might discover. These officials, dependent upon the Mandarin of Earth, may be said to have performed the functions of preachers, though their duties had nothing to do with religion, but merely with morality, virtue, and goodness, pure and simple. Their subordination to a higher board seems to indicate that they had not the political influence exercised later on by the institute of Public Censors (*yü shih*), which was not developed before the Ch'in and Han dynasties." The fact that no fewer than eight out of the forty-four books of the great code of the Chou dynasty are devoted to the functions of the Mandarin of Earth and his subordinate officers in itself sufficiently indicates the government's solicitude for the life of the people. The department of the Minister of Education was represented under the Manchus by the Board of Revenue.

Minister of Religion.

The Minister of Religion, or Officer of Spring, presided over the sacred ceremonies of the country, regulated the services rendered to the spirits and manes, and "made harmony between high and low." The extent of these duties will be understood when it is stated that the manner in which sacrifices were to be made to these spirits and manes was regulated by thousands of petty rules, which reveal to us how saturated with superstition was the life of the people. "The art of obtaining omens from the unseen spirits," either by means of the *pa kua*, or Eight Diagrams, a system of combinations of broken and unbroken lines, or of the marks on the carapace of a tortoise scorched by fire, or of the interpretation of dreams, observation of the stars, etc., formed part of the duties of this department, and so we read of such official posts as the "Grand Diviner," "Master of Divination," "Keeper of the Tortoises," "Preparer of the Wood," and "Observer and Interpreter of the Prognostics." They were all required to be "men far removed from the

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disturbing influence of passion and prejudice." The Ministry of Religion was represented by the modern Board of Ceremonies.

Minister of War.

The Minister of War, or Officer of Summer, presided over the military administration of the country, commanded the Six Hosts, and "secured the tranquillity of the States." There was at this time no standing army, but when soldiers were required, the necessary levies were made by the Minister of Education, or Officer of Earth, who was in charge of the affairs of the people, and placed by him at the disposal of the Officer of Summer, who was Commander-in-Chief under the King. This Ministry was the prototype of the modern Board of War.

Minister of Crime.

The Minister of Crime, or Officer of Autumn, presided over the prohibitions of the country, "searched out the villainous and secretly wicked, and punished oppressors and disturbers of the peace." He and his subordinates meted out justice in criminal cases, legalized state and private contracts, and, through his "Great Traveller" and "Small Traveller," kept the king informed concerning the condition of the feudatory States and their population, and indeed of all that was going on throughout the kingdom, and discharged also the duties relating to the reception of ambassadors or visitors from abroad and from the feudatory States. These Travellers, who were also a kind of police inspectors, in order effectually to discharge their duties, convened periodical meetings of the court interpreters, musicians, and official historians. The Ministry of Crime was represented in modern times by the Board of Punishments.

Minister of Works.

The Minister of Works, or Officer of Winter, presided over the land of the kingdom, settled the four classes of the people, and "secured at the proper seasons the produce of the ground." The portion of the Classical Work describing this department having been lost at an early period, for information concerning

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this Ministry we have to fall back on the *K'ao kung chi*, or "Record of Public Works," a work written in the Han dynasty to fill the gap. Unfortunately, however, instead of describing the administrative functions of this important public department, it deals instead, in great detail, with the arts and industries of the period. But we gather from the *Shu Ching* that this Minister acted as "overseer of the unoccupied" allotting lands for cultivation and townships. The modern representative of this office was the Board of Works.

Each of these Chief Ministers had under him a corps of sixty principal officers, making a total executive of 360, which coincided with the number of heavenly bodies known to the Chinese at that time. Both then and since, their systems have revealed a close adherence to nature.

Number of Executive Officers.

The Recorders or Annalists, previously referred to, were advisers to the Prime Minister and to the heads of the chief State departments. They were subordinate to the Minister of Religion, and divided into several classes, such as Recorder of the Interior, Recorder of the Exterior, etc. They wrote on tablets the charges of the king, read to him memorials on business from different parts of the country, and had charge of the documents containing the material for the histories of the various States as well as of foreign nations.

Recorders or Annalists.

The feudal States had Ministers of Instruction, War, and Works, with numerous subordinates. The first had also the duties of Prime Minister, the second those of Minister of Religion, and the third those of Minister of Crime.

Provincial Administrative Departments.

The *Shu Ching*, or Classic of History, summarizes the system of administration adopted by the founders of this illustrious line of kings as follows—

Summary of Administration.

"To establish their government, they had the men of office, the officers of law, and the pastors, and these appointments were their three concerns. They had also their guards; their officers of the robes; their equerries; their heads of

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petty officers; their personal attendants; their various overseers; and their treasurers. They had their governors of larger assigned cities and of the smaller; their men of arts; the overseers whose offices were beyond the court; their grand historiographers; and their chiefs of direction: all good men of constant virtue."

Principles of Government.

The ages of the early kings—Yao, Shun, Yü, and the founders of the Chou dynasty—are regarded by the Chinese as the "good old days," when justice was done and they could carry on their occupations in peace. This happy result is attributed to the absence of the use of force as a means of governing the nation. "In those times of wise antiquity," says Dr. Legge, the translator of the Chinese Classics, "forceful control was not the way of sovereigns and ministers, but a cautious accordance with nature and circumstances." "The idea of what has been denominated ceremonial government," says another writer, "meets us in the opening pages of the *Shuking*. . . . The Emperor Shun . . . is represented as bringing his refractory subjects to submission by the celebration of a religious pageant in the temple of his ancestors. Later writers say that the monarchs of that period knew how to employ moral forces in place of physical; or, as they express it, they secured the peace of the empire by merely displaying their embroidered robes; which means that they maintained in their palaces an imposing ceremonial, and caused their example to be followed, as far as possible, by officers and people." And again: "As in Egypt the position of the scribe was open to the ambition of every class, so in China the lower offices of State were open to all, and promotion by merit was, in theory at least, an essential part of the constitution."

The Will to do Justice.

We get an idea of the will to do justice on the part of these early rulers from many references occurring in native works. In the *Kang chien hui tsuan*, for example, we read that Shun, who followed in Yao's footsteps—

"enacted the 'Five Criminal Laws' and 'Five Punishments,' and instituted the 'Five Rites' and 'Five Garments' for the better regulation of his subjects. Also, in order that he might avail himself

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of public opinion, he had a tablet placed outside his official residence whereon anyone could criticize his administration. He put questions to the people in the Ming T'ang [or 'Hall of Distinction,' a kind of joint national Council Chamber and temple], asking for the names of bad characters. He established the Upper and Lower Academies for the accommodation of the Elders of the Gentry whose examples were good enough to be followed by others. He also built educational institutions."

Every three years there was an examination of merits, and after three examinations the undeserving officials were degraded, and the deserving promoted. The Great Yü was equally zealous for the welfare of his people, his solicitude going to the length of having nine vases manufactured bearing delineations of the objects of nature, that the people might distinguish between good and evil spirits and no longer be assailed by terrors in the forests and by the waters, learning thus what regions were habitable and what not. Also—

Yü's Nine Vases.

"every year in the first month of spring, the herald with his wooden-tongued bell goes along the roads, proclaiming, 'Ye officers able to direct, be prepared with your admonitions. Ye workmen engaged in mechanical affairs, remonstrate on the subject of your business! If any of you disrespectfully neglect this requirement, the country has regular punishments for you.'"

Owing to the undifferentiated state of the political structure, the king combined with his other duties that of law-maker, or was at least the source of legislation as well as administrator of justice, both as Judge and Judge of Appeal. Under Shun, however, there was, as we have seen, a Minister of Crime. And here the Chinese historian found himself confronted by a paradox. If, in this "golden age," when "all was virtue, happiness, and prosperity," the character of the people was so high that, as is alleged, even articles lost on the road were left to be found by their rightful owners, and it was unnecessary to close house-doors at night, why were there laws and punishments and a Minister of Crime?

Legislation.

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The commentators extricated themselves from the predicament by saying that, though the laws had been established, it was unnecessary to enforce them. Ma Yung says: "None made themselves obnoxious to them. There were the representations but not the criminals"; and the representations were supposed to have exercised a sufficiently deterrent effect. A modification of this position is found in the *Yüan chien lei han*, where it is stated that "in the time of Yao and Shun there were laws, but no means for their enforcement"—until Shun's Minister of Crime instituted the Five Punishments. This inversion of the usual order of evolution, however, is evidently due to an over-estimate of the virtues of the primitive Chinese. The cruelty of the recorded punishments, which we will note when dealing with Laws, can hardly have come about except as a reaction against serious crimes. The prevalence of vices of various kinds is shown by the exhortations against them. The people of Hsia, Shang, and Chou are said to have "exceeded in lewdness." Wanton cruelty in warfare, cannibalism, luxury, and drunkenness prevailed. These and many other transgressions, which "jump to the eye" as one reads the Chinese Classical Books, seem to an unbiased student, apart from the modern question as to the greater efficacy of lenient punishments, sufficient explanation of the existence both of the laws and the means for their enforcement in ancient as in modern China.

Administration of Justice.

The office of the Minister of Crime combined both judicial and executive functions. He "adapted the punishments to the offences for which they were inflicted, and made the law clear in order to deal with criminal charges and litigations." Before capital punishment could be pronounced on a criminal, "the most minute and rigid rules had to be observed; appeals were made first to a board of high officers, then to a commission composed of officers of lower rank, and lastly to the people themselves; and it appears that the people's

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verdict was final, somewhat like that of the juries of modern civilized nations, the sovereign alone having the right to pardon." Princes had the power of life and death in their own States. Extreme care against injustice was inculcated. Says the *Li Chi*—

"If a party had the intention, but there was not evidence of the deed, the charge was not listened to. Where a case appeared as doubtful, it was lightly dealt with; where it might be pardoned, it was (still) gravely considered."

The evidence in a criminal case having been all taken and judgment given—

"the clerk reported the case to the director of the district, who heard it and reported it to the Grand Minister of Crime. He also heard it in the outer court [lit., 'under the Zizyphus trees,' which were planted in the outer court of audience, and under which the different Ministers of the court had their places], and then reported it to the king, who ordered the three ducal ministers, with the minister and director, again to hear it. When they had once more reported it to the king, he considered it with the three mitigating conditions [ignorance, mistake, or forgetfulness], and then only determined the punishment."

In the Classic of History we find laid down a maxim which does credit to the insight of the rulers of those early times: "Remember," it says, "that the end of punishment is to make an end of punishing."

Revenue.

In a country in which the value set upon agriculture was shown by the agriculturist being given precedence of all the other working classes, it might be expected that the taxation of land would form the chief source of the revenue necessary to defray the expense of carrying on the government. Consequently we find that land and personal service formed the mainstay of taxation. The main objects of Chinese financial methods, as one authority has expressed it, were "feeding the people, and feeding on the people." Taxation, however, was generally light, and seldom exceeded a tithe. A low rate of taxation was, indeed, regarded as an essential part of good administration; Mencius looked upon it as indispensable to the attainment of the objects of a sage's government, "which

Land and Personal Service.

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was only done when grain and pulse were made to be as abundant as water and fire." Other sources of revenue in these early times were taxes on forests, marshes, cocoons, markets, the salt and iron monopoly, cloth paid as poll-tax or as fines, leather, horns, bones, sinews, delicacies, etc. (to be stored in the various Treasuries), and a proportion of the incomes of artisans, merchants, fishermen, and foresters.

Various Taxes.

The princes' offerings and tribute of different kinds helped further to fill the government coffers. The Classical Book of Poetry says that the barbarous tribes of Central China sent in as tribute "metals extracted from the mines in the south. They also sent elephants' teeth." Some of the tribes in the present district of Canton "brought crabs and frogs, others brought snakes and crickets." The Classic of History tells us that "the wild people of the islands brought dresses of skins"; "the people of the western tribe of Liu sent in as tribute some of their hounds"; "the nearer and more remote wild tribes have all made offerings of the productions of their countries—clothes, food, and vessels for use"; and "men and women bring their baskets full of azure and yellow silks, to show forth the virtue of us the kings of Chou." A curious device for raising funds, which would have been regarded at that time in the East in quite a different light from that in which it would now be regarded in the West, was the establishment of 300 depots of courtesans for traders from neighbouring States, they by this extra inducement being persuaded to bring to the country "all kinds of merchandise" which might perchance have found a market elsewhere.

Tribute.

Extra Inducement to Traders.

For the control of the revenue, nine different boards of administration were instituted. The Chief Minister determined the expenditure of the States on a thirty years' average, "regulating the outgoing by the income."

Administration of Revenue.

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SECOND GATE OF IMPERIAL CITY, PEKING

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Monarchical Period

Having observed the general scheme of the administrative system, it will be unnecessary to detail any but the most important changes during succeeding periods, because, though names were changed, the principal features of the structure remained the same. In place of a number of separate States owning a more or less loose allegiance to the sovereign of the "middle kingdom," or of States owning no allegiance to anybody, but fighting amongst themselves for supremacy, we have now an empire united under one sovereign whose power was absolute and universal. The "Son of Heaven" was regarded as the owner of everything under the heavens, not excepting the bodies of his subjects, who were his slaves and whose lives were at his mercy. This was shown very decisively shortly after the establishment of the monarchy, in the drastic measures which, as we have seen, were resorted to by the "First Emperor" of burning the Classical Books, and burying alive 460 men of letters for "making mention of the past so as to blame the present." The *literati* were, however, found to be indispensable, and were soon restored to their former status, becoming once more advisers and spiritual auxiliaries of the temporal power. As a class they were skilful teachers, and had a lasting influence on the national life.

Power of the Emperor.

Next to the change in the character of the kingship, we have to note a natural sequence of the warlike measures by which the monarchy had been established in the precedence now given to military over civil officials. Thus at the head of the executive, next to the sovereign, we find the *T'ai Wei*, Great Pacifier, uniting in one office both civil and military duties. Under him were a Left and Right Prime Minister, Grand and Palace Secretaries, and then the important *Chiu Ch'ing*, Nine Ministers, or rather Ministries, the

The Military Held in Esteem.

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remaining palace, metropolitan, and provincial officials completing the hierarchy.

The division of the country was not now into States, but into Provinces, known as *chün*, and thirty-six in number.

Division into Provinces.

The *chün*, originally a feudal fief, comprised several *hsien* districts, which, we shall see, survived as the administrative unit into modern times.

The House of Han, following the Ch'in, adopted the same system, but, as the empire settled down, the post of Great Pacifier was abolished. The office of Prime Minister was now single, now double, and even treble, as under the Later Han dynasty.

The Han System.

In place of the Great Pacifier was instituted a Minister of War, who, like the Ministers of Education and Works, held an executive office of the highest importance. In 32 B.C., five Secretaries of State were appointed, one of whom was made a *P'u Yeh*, a high functionary who was originally a Director of Archery, and the others the *Ssŭ Ts'ao*, Four Boards. The latter, to which two more were afterwards added, corresponded to the six *Pu*, or Boards of modern times. Their duties related to matters of Civil Office, Provincial Administration, Revenue, Foreigners and Barbarians, and Justice. The *Lu Shang Shu*, Directors of Affairs, became important functionaries, exercising great executive and judicial power, and being the first Ministers of State in attendance on the Sovereign. As *Shang Shu*, Secretaries or Presidents of the great administrative Boards, we find them playing an important part in national affairs up to the end of the Manchu Period.

In place of the *Mu*, or Pastors, of earlier times, we find the provincial administration now in the hands of Inspecting Historiographers, who were scattered over the empire to collect information for the Sovereign. After undergoing many changes of form, this office developed about 400 years later, when

Origin of the Censorship.

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the empire was again re-united under the Sui dynasty, into the Censorship. The " eyes and ears of the emperor " composing this important department will be more fully noticed presently when glancing at the administration under the rule of the Manchus.

Under the Hans was instituted, in 29 B.C., the system of literary examinations for appointments in the government service. These examinations consisted in tests of proficiency in the writing of themes on passages selected from the native Classics and in caligraphy, a single character wrongly written disqualifying the candidate. The tests took place in what have been called by foreigners " Examination Halls," but it would be more correct to describe them as one or more " Examiner's Halls "—raised on stone platforms and built, of course, in the native style of architecture with high curved roofs—surrounded by thousands of small cells, arranged in rows of ten or more, each row open only in front and facing the blank wall that formed the back of the row in front of it. Each row had an index character of great size painted on the outer surface of the side wall of the end cell, so that candidates could easily find their allotted compartments. In these cells they stayed, with their necessary food and bedding, for three periods of three days each, the test being thus by no means a slight one. Within the last few years these large compounds full of thousands of cells, being since the abolition of the system which called them into existence no longer required, have been obliterated in most cities, though some are still to be seen where the large space of ground they occupy has not been wanted for other purposes.

Examination System for Government Appointments.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that not only has want of success at these examinations been the *causa causans* of some Chinese literary masterpieces, but in one case it had very important and far-reaching results. To the failure of Hung Hsiu-ch'üan to satisfy the examiners was due the T'aip'ing Rebellion, which cost 20,000,000 lives.

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Size of Official Hierarchy.

The size to which, from its small beginnings, the administrative hierarchy had already grown may be judged from the fact that, at about the time when the examination system was introduced, the number of government employees is stated to have been no less than 130,285, and this notwithstanding the action of the emperor Kuang Wu (A.D. 25–58) in uniting various offices and reducing the number of officials.

Government Functions Undifferentiated.

The character of the imperialism which dominated the nation is further shown by the emperor's being still Legislator-in-Chief and in the fact that the judicial and revenue were not differentiated from the executive functions. At times we even find judicial officers in control also of fiscal and postal matters. Curiously enough, we read that taxation was not burdensome, and that justice was properly administered. The latter, however, varied greatly at different periods, and seems to have depended in large measure upon the character of the sovereign; and, as the fortunes of the House of Han declined, it too seems to have shared in the general deterioration.

System at End of Monarchical Period.

Keeping in mind the essential elements of the governmental structure—the Ruler, the Prime Minister, the Secretaries or Presidents of the great Departments of State, and the Provincial Governors—we may now pass to the end of the Monarchical Period and briefly observe the system then in existence, before noting the great change which resulted from its abolition on the overthrow of the Manchu supremacy. We find the emperor still supreme, the vicegerent of heaven, the religious, administrative, legislative, judicial, and military head of the nation. Theoretically unlimited,

The Emperor.

his power was, however, much curtailed by public opinion, which took as its test the character of the monarch and the prosperity of the kingdom, as well as by the absence of an efficient standing army and by the unscrupulousness of those employed by

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him as the agents of his power. As an indication of the importance attaching to the kingship, it is interesting to note that in Peking the Imperial City occupies about one-sixth of the area covered by the Tartar City and about one-tenth of the Tartar and Chinese Cities combined. And this was the place of residence of the emperor : the administrative boards, etc., were outside the wall by which it was enclosed. The difference between Western and Eastern ideas of the attributes of monarchy in this respect becomes apparent if we try to imagine the grounds of Buckingham Palace as occupying one-sixth or even one-tenth of the total area of London.

Succession to Throne.

The right of succession continued to be hereditary in the male line, though the heir might be chosen at will by the Sovereign. If anyone not of the natural issue was chosen it was necessary for him to be adopted as a son, so that the requirements of ancestor-worship might be fulfilled.

Officials.

Of the four classes—the Scholars (divided into Officials and Gentry), Agriculturists, Artisans, and Merchants—the official section was still appointed after public competitive examination based on the old classical curriculum, though office was purchasable and its sale a recognized proceeding. Officials were arranged in nine ranks, known as the *Chiu P'in* (dating, according to different authorities, either from A.D. 220 or 554), distinguished by coloured knobs or " buttons " (introduced in A.D. 1730) worn on the cap, a square embroidered badge on the breast and back of the official dress, and a clasp on the girdle. There were nine military *p'in* corresponding to the nine civil *p'in*, the badges of the former representing wild animals and those of the latter birds of gay plumage.

The " Nobility."

What in European countries would constitute a nobility was represented in China by hereditary rewards for merit bestowed upon an official by the Sovereign. These rewards did not confer any aristocratic position on the recipients and lasted

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only for a fixed number of lives, though there were a few (only two amongst the Chinese and a very small number amongst the Manchus) which were "hereditary for ever." The usual ranks of the "nobility" were as before, the Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount, and Baron, these being conferred for military merit.

The power of the class called by foreigners the "Gentry" had by this time considerably increased. It was composed, as heretofore, chiefly of the unemployed *literati*, who in many ways assisted the rulers on the one hand and the people on the other, formed the public opinion of the country, and controlled most of the property. To it was largely due the absence of a privileged oligarchy and a landed aristocracy. By its democratic influence and continued instruction in the political rights and duties propounded in the classical writings, it saved the people from reverting to feudal disintegration. It served as a buffer between extortionate rulers and the working classes and was swayed by sound common sense and reasonableness. The agricultural, artisan, and merchant classes held the same relative positions as before. Women took no part in public affairs, but Manchu women enjoyed greater freedom than the Chinese, were until recently not secluded in the "women's apartment," as the Chinese women were, and possessed social and legal rights, unknown to the latter. The theory of the emperor's being the owner of everybody and everything under heaven precluded people from possessing any right or property *per se*, and there was no liberty of the kind so-called in Western countries. Emigration was contrary to the law, and only took place to any extent under treaty provisions made with foreign nations after war had opened various ports to foreign trade. The Chinese showed no inclination to leave their native land, the emigrants being drawn almost exclusively from the coolie or labouring class, who proceeded under contract to the Straits

The "Gentry."

Other Classes of the People.

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Settlements and other tropical countries, and in most cases returned to China after having accumulated sufficient means to live comfortably at home. The most marked class-distinction was that between officials and non-officials, which was practically a distinction between rulers and ruled; other inequalities had their root in property, merit, or occupation. The unclassed were comparatively few. Besides slaves, criminals, executioners, police-runners, beggars, actors, barbers, jugglers, certain boat-people and others at Canton, Ningpo, etc., and all "vile or vagrant persons," including aliens, were debarred from entering for the public examinations until they had for three generations pursued some "honourable and useful employment." Slaves were either prisoners of war, slaves by purchase, or those who had become slaves voluntarily or by birth. Of whatever origin, all slaves were alike in their position and treatment. Once slaves they were always slaves, and their children inherited all their disabilities. The emperor Yung Chêng (1723–36) abolished some of the worst forms of slavery, making certain classes free citizens, including those persons who were not allowed to live on land and whose wives and daughters could be kidnapped with impunity. Only in the reign of Ch'ien Lung (1736–96) were descendants of slaves allowed by law to redeem themselves, either by conspicuous bravery in warfare or by money payment. One of the severest laws in the code was the fugitive slave law, by which anyone harbouring a runaway slave was liable to decapitation and his neighbours to banishment.

Capital and Divisions.

Under the Manchus, Peking (which had been the Ming capital from 1411 onwards) remained the seat of central government. The fifteen provinces of the Mings were increased to eighteen (*Shih-pa Shêng*, the Eighteen Provinces), sub-divided into Departments and Districts. The Three Eastern Provinces (the native land of the Manchus) were organized on a military basis.

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The Manchus introduced but few modifications into the government system, the Grand Council and the Board of Foreign Affairs being those specially calling for notice. The former was established in 1644, the latter in 1861. From the first consolidation of the Manchu rule the administration had been carried on by the Grand Council and the Six Boards (Civil Appointments, Rites, Revenue, War, Justice, and Works), to which we have already referred. In 1906 the central administration was remodelled. We then find it as follows: At the head of the administrative institutions was the Grand Council of State or Privy Council, presided over by the emperor, and having no special functions, but comprising a Cabinet composed of Ministers indeterminate in number, but usually about five or six, holding other substantial offices, who dealt with all matters of general administration, their meetings being held at dawn so as not to interfere with the duties of other departments, performed during the day. From 1732 this Council was designated the Place of Military Plans, a name derived from the practice of the Manchu emperors of treating public affairs as on a military footing. In the new reorganization it was maintained, with the altered title given above, but otherwise not changed in character.

Institutions.

The Grand Council.

Next to the Cabinet came the Grand Secretariat or Imperial Chancery composed of two Manchus and two Chinese, chosen from the most distinguished officers of the State. This department, representing the *San Kung* and *San Ku* of ancient times, became relatively unimportant after the organization of the Grand Council.

The Grand Secretariat.

After the capture of Peking by the allied British and French forces in 1861, a Bureau, known as the Tsungli Yamên, was established to deal with foreign affairs, which up to that time had been under the control of the Board for the

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Administration of Vassal Countries (Mongolia, Turkestan, and Tibet), which used to come next in order to the Imperial Chancery but was now placed under the department of Foreign Affairs. In 1901, the year after the "Boxer" outbreak, the Tsungli Yamên, the ranking of which next to the Grand Council indicated the importance which foreign affairs had acquired, was transformed into the *Wai Wu Pu*, or Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and later into the *Wai Chiao Pu*, or Ministry of Foreign Relations. The Tsungli Yamên had the supervision of modern education, telegraph lines, construction of arsenals and coast defences, customs revenue, etc., its staff being formed of members of the other departments of the administration. The *Wai Wu Pu* had similar functions and was composed of ten members, all Presidents or Vice-Presidents of other Boards, including most of the members of the Grand Council. Four special departments had charge of the affairs of Great Britain, France, Russia, and the United States.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In 1906, the Six Boards, the great departments which dealt with the principal affairs of State, were remodelled, and their number increased to ten, dealing with Civil Appointments, Home Affairs, Finance, Education, Justice, War, Agriculture, Works, and Commerce (corresponding to matters relating to the three classes of agriculturists, artisans, and merchants), Posts and Communications, Rites, and Public Safely or Constabulary. To these a Board of Admiralty was subsequently added. It will be noticed that such matters as modern education were no longer to be dealt with under the heading of "foreign affairs."

Reorganization of Boards.

Besides the Boards, the following bodies remained in existence during the Manchu Period up to the time of this reorganization: the Imperial Academy or Supreme College of Literature (*Han Lin Yüan*), destroyed in the hostilities of 1900 (composed

Other Administrative Departments.

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of all the *literati* who had passed the "Palace Examination"); the Censorate or Court of Censors, the Grand Court of Revision (of Criminal Law), the Imperial Board of Astronomy, the Court of Sacrificial Worship, and the Court of State Ceremonial.

The Censorate.

The Censorate was composed of Manchus and Chinese recruited in equal proportions from the various administrative departments. The censors were a privileged body who animadverted on the conduct of the emperor himself in cases of alleged injustice, illegality or extravagance. Occasionally they went too far and were degraded for their unpalatable advice. They also, when they saw fit, censored the performance or neglect of duties by any other officials. They received appeals made to the emperor, either by the people against the officials, or by subordinate officials against their superiors. In conjunction with the Ministry of Justice, they exercised an oversight in all criminal cases, and superintended the workings of the different Boards.

Provincial Administration.

The provinces were under a hierarchy composed of a Governor-General or Viceroy, who ruled, usually, over two provinces and had special powers over the military forces, a Governor (one over each province, except three), a Provincial Treasurer, Provincial Judge, Salt Comptroller, Grain Intendant, Intendant of Circuit (*Taot'ai*), administering two or more Prefectures (*fu*), Prefect, Department Magistrate, and District Magistrate. This body of provincial civil servants was usually spoken of as *fu mu kuan*, "parental officials," or "fathers and mothers of the people," they being regarded as standing *in loco parentis* to all under their jurisdiction. The District Magistrate was the administrative unit. There were in all about 1,300 of this rank. His duties were of a multifarious nature, and are thus well described by Professor Parker in his *China* (pp. 171–2)—

"The *hien* magistrate is the very heart and soul of all official life and emolument, his dignity and attributes, in large centres such as Canton or Chungking, not falling far short in many respects of those of

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the Lord Mayor of London. His comparatively low 'button'-rank places him in easy touch with the people, whilst his position as the lowest of the *yu-sz*, or 'executive,' clothes him with an imperial status which even a viceroy must respect. He is the lowest officer on whom the Emperor himself (at times) directly confers an appointment. He is so much identified with the soul of 'empire,' that the Emperor or Government itself is elegantly styled *hien-kwan*, or the 'district magistrate.' He is judge in the first instance in all matters whatsoever, civil or criminal, and also governor of the gaol, coroner, sheriff, mayor, head-surveyor, civil service examiner, tax-collector, registrar, lord-lieutenant, aedile, chief bailiff, interceder with the gods; and, in short, what the people always call him—'father and mother officer.' He cuts a very different figure in a remote country district from that accepted by him in a metropolis like Canton, where he is apt to be overshadowed by innumerable civil and military superiors; just as in London the Lord Mayor is outshone by the Court and the Cabinet Ministers. In his own remote city he is autocratic and everybody. He has no technical training whatever, except in the Chinese equivalent for 'Latin verse'; he has a permanent staff of trained specialists who run each department for him, share the plunder with him, and keep themselves well in the background. If a weak man, he is at the mercy of these tools, and also of his 'belly-band,' *i.e.*, the man who advances the money for him first to secure and then to reach his post. But, if a strong man, he soon transforms all these into contributory 'suckers' of the sponge he personally clutches."

There was thus no special deliberative or advisory body. The emperor, when necessary, took council with the heads of the various tribunals. The two imperial councils were organs of communication between him and the body politic, partaking of a deliberative nature, but there was no such thing as an electorate or popular representation of any sort, the people being still regarded as the slaves of their imperial master, the emperor. We find also a remainder of an earlier state of things in the comparative independence of the provinces, each of which was "sufficient unto itself," and was not unduly interfered with by the central government. To quote Professor Parker (*China*, pp. 169–70)—

No Deliberative Body.

"So long as the provincial government sends its Peking supplies, administers a reasonable sop to its clamorous provincial duns, quells incipient insurrections, gives employment to its army of 'expectants,' staves off foreign demands, avoids 'rows' of all kinds, and, in a word, keeps up a decent external surface of respectability, no questions are asked; all reports and promotions are passed; the Viceroy and his

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colleagues 'enjoy happiness,' and everyone makes his 'pile.' The Peking Government makes no new laws, does nothing of any kind for any class of persons, leaves each province to its own devices, and, like the general staff of an army organization, both absorbs successful men, and gives out needy or able men to go forth and do likewise. Hence every man, be he squeezer, middle-man, or squeezed, has, or hopes to have, a finger in the pie. There is no snobbery in China, though there is plenty of priggishness. Any peasant or greengrocer can study or bribe his way up, and no Chinaman is ashamed of his poor relations. Thus there is a sort of live and let live feeling all round. The fat is there, and the fire is there: it is for each man to burn his fingers or feast withal, as luck and wriggling may have it. There are no passports, no restraints on liberty, no frontiers, no caste prejudices, no food scruples, no sanitary measures, no laws except popular customs and criminal statutes. China is in many senses one vast republic, in which personal restraints have no existence. The Manchus, as the ruling race, have certainly a few privileges, but, on the other hand, they suffer just as many disabilities. Barbers, play-actors, and policemen are under a mild tabu—more theoretical than real; but aboriginal 'barbarians' can easily become Chinese by reading books and putting on breeches. Indeed, there is an official expression for this transmogrification, called 'changing the autochthonous into the current.' All men are equal before the Emperor, and all have fairly equal chances of his smiles and frowns. The only thing is to adhere to custom, and not to overdo things: above all, to respect the person of the Emperor as represented by the official uniform (always worn in public) of a mandarin, be he great or small. This being the happy-go-lucky condition of high office in China, there is (apart from special causes) no jealousy or class feeling in the country: it is simply a question of big fish feeding on little fish, unless and until the little fish can keep out of the way, eat their way up, and become big fish themselves."

Judicial Procedure.

Though the emperor was, as before, the source of legislation, he was not considered as "above the law," but as bound to rule according to the established code. All persons having complaints to make had to address themselves in the first instance to the lowest tribunal of justice in the district, the matter being transferred to higher tribunals if necessary. Courts were supposed to be always open for the transaction of business. The ideal magistrate was one who hardly ever left his yamên, unless it were on business, ceremonial or other, such as disguising himself and acting the part of a private detective in order to acquire knowledge of some particular case or general information as to the condition

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of his district or the disposition of the people. The statement of a case was always made in writing in the form of a *ping*, or "petition," and the official concerned was required to act upon it immediately. The final appeal was to the Emperor, but only through the Board of Punishments. Executive and judicial functions were not distinct. Parties managed their own cases, there being no "counsel" as known in Western countries. The nearest approach to the latter were the "law experts," but these assisted the judge and not the parties to the suit. The magistrate acted as cross-examiner, and put on record his statement of the case and the decision arrived at. Offenders could not be punished before confession. Bail was personal, prisoners were ill-treated, the verdict almost invariably went to the longer purse. Prisons were badly managed and usually filthy. The duel was unknown, and the *ultima ratio* of a suitor was a public appeal for redress.

Taxation and Revenue.

Each province being required to support itself and to furnish a surplus for the needs of the central government, taxes of various kinds were imposed to meet both these ends. There were land taxes, grain taxes, customs dues, mining royalties, the salt monopoly, tea tax, likin (a tax imposed from 1852 on traders to meet the expenses of the T'aip'ing rebellion), sales of titles and office, tribute, etc. In the earliest times it is said that expenditure was adjusted to revenue, but, whether that was so or not, the principle followed in later ages seems to have been to collect as much revenue and to devote to the national welfare as little as possible. Generally, however, taxation is said to have been light, and in times of famine, or on special occasions, the land tax was reduced or remitted. During the last fifty years of the period, maritime customs dues were collected on behalf of the Central Administration by foreign employees, and more recently the salt gabelle has been similarly dealt with, these two forming reliable security for foreign loans.

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Admission to the Government Service was obtained by the same means as at the beginning of the Monarchical Period, namely, competitive examination in knowledge of the ancient classical writings; but towards the end of the Manchu *régime* several more modern subjects were included in the curriculum. The total number of officials in proportion to the population must be regarded as large. Including all officials above the rank of Assistant District Magistrate, the number would be about one official to every 16,000 inhabitants; but, if all the employees in each yamên be included, their number would have to be multiplied by ten at least. When the fact is taken into consideration that a large number of these officials worked undertime or not at all, it is apparent that, both through direct "squeezing" and by indirect creation of superfluous sinecures, the working classes were maintaining a large number of individuals in luxury and idleness.

Numbers of Officials.

Republican Period

In our summary of the political history we saw how the long monarchical *régime* came to a comparatively sudden end. We have now to observe the main features of the administrative system which is being substituted for it—for this has not yet had time to assume a definite or final form. The great change which has taken place is, of course, not in the people themselves, for human nature cannot be quickly transformed, but in the method by which they are governed. In place of an emperor, divinely descended, all-powerful, supreme head of the State, Church, and Army, absolute owner of all the lands within the "four seas" and all the people who dwell thereon, we now see a President of a Republic in which all men are accounted equal, who elect as their ruler anyone they please (provided the requisite conditions be observed) and, if he prove unfit, may within a

Republican Administrative System.

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reasonable period elect someone else in his place, by constitutional means instead of the old uncertain method of the stronger arm and heavier fist—rebellion, bloodshed, and the sacrifice of many innocent lives. Thus, in theory at least, the old class-divisions of Scholars, Agriculturists, Artisans, and Merchants have been abolished, and there is now only one class in China, that of Citizens of the Chinese Republic.

The seat of the central government remained at Peking (though the Provisional Government first met at Nanking), and the provincial arrangement was left unchanged, except for the re-naming of some of the sub-divisions and offices and the raising of the number of Provinces from eighteen to twenty-two by including Sinkiang or the New Territory and the three Manchurian Provinces of Hei Lung Chiang, Kirin, and Fêng T'ien.

Capital and Divisions.

The Provisional Constitution, which was re-adopted in 1916, after having been arbitrarily set aside for three years as a result of Yüan Shih-k'ai's attempt (after supplanting it by what is known as the "Bogus" or "Goodnow" Constitution of 1914), to re-introduce the monarchical form of government, was drawn up by the Provisional Government at Nanking in 1912. It provided that the sovereignty, vested in the people, should be exercised by the National Council, the Provisional President, the Cabinet, and the Judiciary, and that there should be for all citizens freedom, justice, and security for person and property. The legislative power was to be exercised by the National Council composed of members elected by the twenty-two Provinces, Inner and Outer Mongolia, Tibet, and Ch'ing Hai (Kokonor), the land of the Kalmuck Mongols. This Council was also to elect the Provisional President and Vice-President on not less than two-thirds of the total votes of three-fourths of the total number

The Provisional Constitution.

The President.

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of members. The President was to be a citizen of the Republic of not less than forty years of age who had resided in China for ten years; he was also to be Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy. He was to be elected for a term of five years, and if re-elected to serve for one more similar term. If for any reason he was unable to discharge the duties of his office, the Vice-President was to take his place.

The Premier and chiefs of the government departments were to be called members of the Cabinet. The Judiciary was to be composed of Judges appointed by the Provisional President and the Minister of Justice. The National Council was to be dissolved on the day of the convocation of the National Assembly or Parliament, and its powers exercised by the latter.

The Cabinet and Judiciary.

The Provisional Government of Nanking having dissolved itself on the election of Yüan Shih-k'ai by the National Council in place of Sun Yat-sen, the Provisional President, elections were held in pursuance of the same law under which these proceedings had been taken (namely, the Presidential Election Law passed by the National Council on October 4th, 1913, as a first step towards the drawing-up of a permanent Constitution) and a Senate and House of Representatives were formed which met at Peking in the spring of 1913, under the general name of National Assembly or Parliament.

Election of Parliamentary Representatives.

As a result of the electoral system introduced in 1912, delegates elected to form the Senate (*Ts'an I Yüan*) and House of Representatives (*Tsung I Yüan*) numbered in all 870; 274 forming the Senate and 596 the House of Representatives. The former (one-third of whom were to retire every two years) were elected by the provincial assemblies and the latter chosen on a system of proportional representation, one member at first theoretically representing about 800,000 citizens, but later by stricter definition of the right

Composition of Parliament.

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to vote representing about 800 only. The cost of the Parliament, the members of which were salaried at the rate of about £50 and more a month, would be about 50 per cent. of the total administrative expenditure of the Central Government, exclusive of the military appropriations. Owing to the widespread illiteracy, the number of citizens qualified to vote was relatively small. Men who had been deprived of civil rights, bankrupts, opium-smokers, the insane or illiterate, as well as priests, naval and military officers, and administrative officials generally, could neither vote nor be elected.

It was under this Constitution, re-affirmed by President Li Yüan-hung, successor to Yüan Shih-k'ai, that the Chinese Parliament re-assembled on August 1st, 1916. Before its dissolution three years earlier it had passed but one measure of what was to form a permanent Constitution, viz., the Presidential Election Law of October 4th, 1913, already referred to. Since its re-assembly to the date of writing, there has not been time for it either to arrange its own method of procedure or to get to work at the making of laws, and it is therefore too soon to comment or make prophecies as to its future form, functions, and achievements. One point, however, requires notice, and that is that by its own Constitution the Chinese Parliament is illegally convened, for the legal three years' term of office having expired, it automatically stands dissolved, and a new Parliament should be elected. But in view of the fact that the suspension of the assembly by Yüan Shih-k'ai is regarded as an illegal act, and also in order to maintain peace in the provinces, and, as a native writer has put it, because "the nation does not wish to see any more shopkeeper's bargaining," and "the country needs peace, and immediate peace," the Government and the people have purposely overlooked this point of law. This youngest and most unique of Parliaments, arising quite suddenly out of a mediaeval system

Re-assembling of Parliament.

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of great age, whose spirit is not yet extinct, has great difficulties to contend with. Bureaucracies can be as unjust, corrupt, and tyrannical as despotisms, and substituting a many- for a one-headed hydra may be a dangerous proceeding unless it is kept well under control. The Chinese Parliament will at least have justified its existence if it succeeds in giving to China permanent peace, security, and prosperity, and finally puts an end to the barbarous disregard of rights and lives in the mad race for place and money which has hitherto constituted one of the main obstacles in its advance along the road to civilization.

Laws—Feudal Period

Primitive Ideas of Law.

The object of laws in primitive societies differs from that which they have in more advanced ones. The civilized idea of laws is that they shall ensure justice between man and man; the undeveloped idea, that they shall ensure subordination of the ruled to the ruler or rulers. Consequently the most heinous crimes of civilized codes are not put first by the archaic law-maker. The first idea of the uncivilized chief is to exact obedience to the injunctions of himself and his ancestors, and any offence, however trivial, against these, is far more important than the rights, even if they may be said to exist, of any of his subjects.

Law in Ancient China.

The Chinese rulers, at the beginning of their known history, had partially—but only partially—emerged from this primitive condition of things. Law was declaratory and castigatory: the ruler or his agent decreed the punishment to be meted out for each offence as it occurred. The maintenance of private rights in civil and industrial matters was no concern of the State, family matters were arranged by the *paterfamilias*, mercantile matters by prominent merchants or village elders. Offences against the "Son of Heaven"

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being the most serious of all, rebellion was the first of the capital crimes of which the punishment could not be relaxed. Though it might be rebellion against oppression, it was classed with murder, wounding, burglary, and adultery. Moreover, in early as in later times in China, mere retribution was not considered sufficient: punishment was vindictive. Excluding the general regulations about government and the special rules about sacrifices, etc., the only law was criminal law, and a consideration of it therefore resolves itself into a survey of what were regarded as crimes, and what were the appropriate punishments for them.

The Five Punishments.

The first punishments of which we read were five in number: branding (on the forehead) (*mo*); cutting off the nose (*pi*); cutting off the legs (*yüeh*); castration (*kung*); and death (*ta p'i*). *Mo*, which was a tattooing of the face to mark a criminal off from the rest of the community, was inflicted on those who "did not act according to right or did what they ought not to do"; *pi*, on those who "altered or disobeyed the sovereign's laws, changed the style of clothes, carts, sedans, etc., or who wounded, stole, committed adultery, or created disturbances harmful to the government"; *yüeh*, amputating the legs at the knees, and *pin*, amputating the knee-cap, for climbing over walls to steal, undermining or damaging city gates, destroying bridges, etc. (after the latter punishment the offender could still walk, though slowly, and could be employed as a watchman, or in a similar capacity); *kung*, for rape, illicit intercourse, etc.; and *ta p'i*, for assisting rebels against the government, robbery with violence, etc. Except in the cases named, these five punishments might be commuted for banishment (*liu*) to a greater or less distance. This was regarded as a somewhat lighter punishment than those inflicted for the grave crimes. The grounds for commutation were compassion, doubt as to the law, royal consanguinity, and exceptional merit. Crimes less severely punished were those of which

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the penalty was whipping (*pien*) and flogging (*p'u*), modified on occasion to money fines (*chin shu*).

Considering that the growing disloyalty of the people indicated decline of virtue on his part, Yü the Great, when he succeeded Yao and Shun, instituted the punishment of mutilation (*jou*). The founders of the two following dynasties (Shang and Chou) retained this cruel punishment for, says the Chinese historian, "the customs of the time were inferior to those of the days of Yao and Shun." *Hai*, mincing, and slaying his children as well as the criminal, were also occasionally resorted to, but, if tradition may be trusted, the criminal's relatives and descendants were not yet included in his punishment under Yao, Shun, and Yü, at least as an established institution, though on occasion disobedient troops were threatened with the death of their children.

Mutilation and Inclusion of Children in Death Penalty.

But the cruel punishments of the tyrants Chieh Kuei and Chou Hsin, who, through their oppression, caused the downfall respectively of the Hsia and Shang dynasties, have become a byword among the Chinese people. The former not only inflicted "cruel dismemberments," but extended punishments to the extirpation of the offender's children. The latter carried this principle into all the penal administration of his government, and punished insubordination by compelling those guilty of it to climb a red-hot copper pillar (called the "Heater") and "along with criminals punished all their relatives." Both of these monsters acted at the instigation of their immoral concubines. Ta Chi, Chou Hsin's mistress, delighted in making offenders walk along a greasy pole so as to fall into a burning pit underneath. But the Chinese have a habit of checking oppression when it passes the limit, by putting a stop to its cause, and these cruel punishments disappeared on the assassination of both Chou Hsin and Ta Chi three years later.

At the beginning of the Later Feudal Period we still find the idea of punishment predominating, rather than that of

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law properly so called. Drunkenness, when connected with treason, was punishable with death. Anyone who delayed military operations by coming later than the appointed time was executed. Other methods of punishment were strangling, the fetters and manacles, the stocks, the cangue, chaining to the market stone, etc. Anyone in the Wei State using a royal chariot was to have his feet cut off. And in the State of Ch'in there prevailed the "three stock" law, under which three generations of a criminal's relatives were executed with him. It was not abolished until 529 B.C., *i.e.*, after about 200 years. There was, however, some modification in the direction of leniency. For instance, though the five principal punishments remained in force, amputating the legs was mitigated to amputating the feet.

Punishments in the Later Feudal Period.

In the *Book of Rites*, to which reference has already been made, we find advocated another primitive method of obtaining satisfaction for the crime of murder: "With the slayer of his father, a man may not live under the same heaven; against the slayer of his brother, a man must never have to go home to fetch a weapon; with the slayer of his friend, a man may not live in the same State." An attempt to avoid the evil consequences of this rule was made by the appointment of a minister called "The Reconciler." But any chance of its abolition which may have existed must have been destroyed by the strong approval it received from Confucius. The great sage affirmed the duty of blood-revenge in a most uncompromising manner. His disciple, Tzŭ Hsia asked him, "What course is to be pursued in the case of a murder of a father or mother?" He replied, "The son must sleep upon a matting of grass, with his shield for his pillow; he must decline to take office; he must not live under the same heaven with the slayer. When he meets him in the market-place or the court, he must have his weapon ready to strike him." "And what is the course

The Lex Talionis.

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on the murder of a brother?" "The surviving brother must not take office in the same State with the slayer; yet if he go on his prince's service to the State where the slayer is, though he meet him, he must not fight with him." "And what is the course on the murder of an uncle or cousin?" "In this case the nephew or cousin is not the principal. If the principal on whom the revenge devolves can take it, he has only to stand behind with his weapon in his hand, and support him." Here we have a primitive picture indeed, without the slightest suggestion or suspicion that revenge is one of the inferior sentiments!

Crimes Classified.

The crimes punishable with death were robbery, murder, unfilial, unbrotherly, unworthy, and factious conduct on the part of officers, as well as those described in the following passage from the *Book of Rites*—

"Splitting words so as to break (the force of) the laws; confounding names so as to change what had been definitely settled; practising corrupt ways so as to throw government into confusion: all guilty of these things were put to death. Using licentious music; strange garments; wonderful contrivances and extraordinary implements, thus raising doubts among the multitudes: all who used or formed such things were put to death. Those who were persistent in hypocritical conduct and disputatious in hypocritical speeches; who studied what was wrong, and went on to do so more and more, and whoever increasingly followed what was wrong so as to bewilder the multitudes: these were put to death. Those who gave false reports about (appearances of) spirits, about seasons and days, about consultings of the tortoise-shell and stalks, so as to perplex the multitudes: these were put to death . . . and no defence was listened to."

A people who thus discouraged their Edisons by summarily shortening their stature naturally did not produce many useful inventions!

Confucius and Crime.

Confucius's arrangement of crimes brings out once more the "insubordination" idea of law mentioned at the beginning of this section. It was (1) offences against heaven and earth; (2) professing spiritual matters to deceive people and cause them to rebel; (3) opposing human relationships; (4) confusing civilization; and (5) manslaughter. "The latter,"

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he added, strangely enough, "affects only the criminal himself." A minister slaying a ruler, or a son slaying his father, was to be lynched. Says the *Li Chi*—

"In the time of duke Ting of Ku-lü, there occurred the case of a man killing his father." The officers reported it, and the duke said: "'I have learned how to decide on such a charge. When a minister kills his ruler, all who are in office with him should kill him without mercy. When a son kills his father, all who are in the house with him should kill him without mercy. The man should be killed; his house should be destroyed; the whole place should be laid under water and reduced to a swamp. And his ruler should let a month elapse before he raises a cup to his lips.'"

Altogether there were 500 offences punishable with death, and 500 with branding or feet amputation, the total number of punishable crimes being 3,000.

Children under seven and men over ninety were exempted from punishment, and women from the punishments of tattooing the face and cutting off the feet. A member of the king's clan was not castrated, but had his head shaved instead. (Shaving the head, as imposed by the Manchus centuries later, was, of course, not yet in force.) This was considered a punishment because the body inherited from the parents was regarded as sacred, and also because it publicly stigmatized the offender. Anyone who killed a robber or a rebel attacking a town or village was not punished. Fines in lieu of the severer punishments, which followed a regular scale, have already been referred to. Some regard was also had for the sufferings of prisoners in the small and unsavoury dungeons during the more trying seasons of the year. "In the first moon of spring," says the *Li Chi*, "the Judge was ordered to spare imprisonment and disuse fetters and manacles."

Exemptions. Mitigations.

The idea of punishment-law persisted, and about 950 B.C., when the aged King Mu decided on a reform of the criminal law, and appointed the Marquis Lü, Minister of Crime to carry it out, it was the *Lü Hsing*, Lü on Punishments, or Lü's Code of Punishments, that was promulgated throughout the kingdom. This occupies a chapter in the classical *Canon of History*. In

Laws, Codification, etc.

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reading it, we feel admiration for the many virtuous sentiments expressed, and when we find the king saying: "Ho! come, ye rulers of States and territories, I will tell you how to make punishments a blessing," our hopes are raised high. And they are not altogether disappointed, for though King Mu has been severely criticized for introducing the system of accepting money fines (at least on an extensive scale) as compensation for the most heinous offences—a method which has been inserted in the penal code of every subsequent dynasty—yet the "Punishments" of Lü err, if they err at all, on the side of leniency, and contain, moreover, signs of progress towards the institution of laws which should not be altogether castigatory. A method of procedure and many judicial forms and precepts are prescribed which would be no discredit to modern Western systems. "Lü on Punishments" was directed against the type of people who used the punishments as "engines of oppression, calling them the laws." It contains high principles and admonitions to virtue in profusion. Personally I cannot regard it as an elaborate piece of hypocrisy designed to cover a gigantic "squeeze" system. Redemption by means of fines existed before the days of King Mu, and it is possible that "Lü on Punishments" was designed to regularize these fines and fix the amounts which might be legally charged, and thus put a check on extortion. Generally, this piece of legislation made stricter the regulations respecting the punishments of branding and cutting off the nose, and more lenient those respecting the punishment of castration and capital punishment, in order to avoid as much as possible the infliction of the death penalty. Two hundred instead of 500 offences were now punishable with death. Abuses, both with regard to "fining" and making light of human life, doubtless existed. If the "fining" was restricted, or even if it was only legalized, and the taking of human life in cases where doubt existed rendered more difficult ("when there are doubts as to the infliction of the five punishments, that

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infliction should be forborne"), there was a distinct step in the direction of justice. No conclusive evidence for either view exists; and in its absence we must take "Lü on Punishments"—these decrees of the centenarian King Mu, breathing morality and the will to benefit his people—as we find it, and regard it as a genuine effort towards justice and an attempt to mitigate, if not to frustrate, the prevailing corruption.

"Lü on Punishments" was, as we saw, not a code of laws properly so called. Codification did not commend itself to the early Chinese rulers. "When the people themselves become cognizant of a written law, they will cease to fear their superiors, and moreover, they will acquire a contentious spirit. Having a book to refer to, they will employ every device to elude the letter of the law. It was only in anarchical times" that it was necessary to issue collections of laws. The advent of written law was supposed to connote a decay of government.

Codification Disapproved.

Signs of this decay became apparent during the next few centuries, for, about 650 B.C., Tsang Wên-chung, a distinguished statesman of Lu, drew up a special code, about which little is known except that it was regarded as being very severe; and, about 581–521 B.C., some laws were cast on an iron tripod. But in 536 B.C., a penal code for the regulation of punishments, which was the foundation of Chinese criminal law, was published in the feudal State of Chêng (part of modern Honan). Its author was Tzŭ Ch'an (Kung-sun Ch'iao), chief minister of that State, and its characteristic was mildness compared with preceding enactments. But when, instead of being merely "declared," the code was cast on metal for the information of the people, it met with great opposition in the official world, and from none more than from Confucius, who regarded it as a danger to the maintenance of authority.

The First Codes.

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There were further castings of laws on tripods, but no code of permanent influence appeared until Li K'uei, a statesman in the service of the first ruler of the Wei State in the fourth century B.C., introduced both a new system of land laws and a code of new penal laws. The latter is described as "simple in arrangement and construction." It was later on called the "Law Classic," and formed, as it were, the backbone of all subsequent codification, for each succeeding dynasty has adopted the laws of its predecessor and adapted them to its own time and circumstances. It was divided into six portions, the first three relating to practice, the fourth to general administration, and the last two to an exposition of offences; or, as Staunton says in the preface to his *Penal Code*, two were introductory, the third related to prisons, the fourth to the administration of the police, the fifth to the lesser or miscellaneous offences, and the sixth to all the great and capital crimes against public justice. It is said to have "represented all that was best in the laws of the different feudal states, mostly in reference to robbery: the minor offences were roguery, getting over city walls, gambling, borrowing, dishonesty, lewdness, extravagance, and transgressing the ruler's commands." One remarkable feature of Li K'uei's code was that it made polygamy a crime punishable with death, and this in face of the sanction given to it by Confucius, who placed the procuring of an heir above all considerations of morality (as defined in Western countries). The Chinese people seem to have been so much of Confucius's way of thinking that the penalty (subsequently reduced to corporal punishment) of the law has been entirely ignored, and polygamy in the modified form of concubinage obtains to the present day. Li K'uei's vehemence may, however, have been aimed more at the then prevailing practice of "making wives of concubines" than at any actual reduction in the number of the inmates of the harem.

Li K'uei's "Law Classic."

We read further in the "Record of Criminal Law" of

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the Han dynasty that in 351 B.C., that state engaged Shên Pu-hai (Shên Tzŭ), and the Ch'in State Shang Yang (properly Kungsun Yang or Wei Yang) to consult together and fix the law of mutual responsibility, as a result of which a crime involved ten families and five neighbours. "They also arranged the punishments of being involved in the death penalty, the punishments of mutilation, of death (by various means), of piercing the skull, wrenching out the ribs, and boiling in a cauldron." Anyone who failed to denounce an offender was to be cut in two at the waist. As an administrator of the criminal laws Wei Yang was notorious for his uncompromising severity, so much so that it is related that, when he stood by the banks of the Wei River and spoke of criminals, its waters immediately turned to a blood-red colour. During his twenty-four years' rule, his unrelenting cruelty caused crime practically to disappear; but his policy was one of "frightfulness," and in 338 B.C. the pent-up anger of the people of Ch'in broke forth, and put him to an ignominious death.

Severe Laws of Shên Tzŭ and Wei Yang.

We learn from the *Chou Li*, the "Institutes of the Chou Dynasty," that written deeds and agreements were in general use. The most common kind was an indenture consisting of a bamboo tablet, upon which the terms of the contract were written in duplicate, each party retaining one-half. These were used for all loans and lesser transactions regarding things which pass from hand to hand; nothing could be sold without either an indenture or a deed of warranty, which was used for the greater sales, that is, of slaves, horses, and cattle. The procedure in case of breach provides another illustration of the penal propensity of all Chinese legislation, for the judge punished the party whom he decided to have infringed the contract in much the same way as if he had been a common thief.

Deeds, etc.

As an indication of the procedure in use at this early time, it

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will be sufficient to add to the remarks made in the section on General Government the following passage from the *Book of History* with some explanations from the *Chou Li*—

Procedure.

"When both parties are present, with their documents and witnesses all complete, let all the judges listen to the five-fold statements which may be made. When they have examined and fully made up their minds on these, let them adjust the case to one of the five punishments. If the five punishments do not meet it, let them adjust it to one of the five redemption-fines; and, if these again are not sufficient for it, let them reckon it among the five cases of error."

The "five pleadings" were the statements, with the evidence, on both sides, whether incriminating or exculpating. They were called "five," as the penalty might be one or other of the "five punishments." The "five cases of error" meant the various cases of inadvertence. "In settling the five cases of error," adds the *Book of History*, "there are evils to be guarded against: being warped by the influence of power, or by private grudge, or by female solicitation, or by bribes, or by applications. Where such things are, the offence becomes equal to the crime before the judges. Do you carefully examine, and prove yourselves equal to every difficulty."

Monarchical Period

Laws of the "First Emperor."

"When the 'First Emperor' had eaten up all the warring states," says the *History of the Han dynasty*, "he abolished the laws of the ancient kings," and established other laws which he gave to his ministers to put in force. Judging from the character of this monarch, we should not expect his laws to be of a humane nature, and we read: "When the Ch'in dynasty flourished the laws were severe and the punishments strict, and the empire was able to prosper (owing to these strict measures); but when it declined (the laws were still more severe and) the people murmured and rose in rebellion." Crimes involved the criminal's family as well as his five

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neighbours. Ministers guilty of treason were cut in two at the waist and their three clans exterminated. Slandering the government was punished by execution of the criminal and his whole family. Anyone who discussed a book or poem was executed and his body exposed.

Laws of the Hans.

On the overthrow of the Ch'in dynasty, the Hans repealed these cruel laws, and instituted in their place the less barbarous "Three Laws," by which three penalties were imposed—for murder, death, and for wounding and robbery in proportion to the act committed. This was a political measure, designed to attach the people to the new *régime*, but when it was found that the "three laws" were insufficient to restrain offenders, an elaborate code known as the "nine laws" was published, which, though embodying those Ch'in laws which suited the altered conditions, avoided most of those of a grossly vindictive character. Further codes or revisions were issued by the Han sovereigns, and in the period A.D. 89–105 we find that the number of punishable crimes had very greatly increased, there being 610 punishable with death, 1,698 with shaving of the head, and 2,681 redeemable crimes and lesser offences—the ancient orthodox total being 3,000. To this latter number it was now attempted to reduce the crimes to be included in the revized statute-book.

Crimes.

The crimes now punishable with death were rebellion, illegal acts towards parents, etc., selling people as slaves, wearing embroidered silk by merchants, etc.; with shaving the head or compressing the feet, housebreaking, wounding, adultery, receiving bribes, etc.; with tattooing, adulteration of coining-metal; with fetters, casting implements or boiling salt illegally, etc. Five hundred crimes were still punishable by amputation of the feet. The murder of a stepmother by a stepson for killing his father was a less grave crime than killing a mother.

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Of the old "five punishments" which remained in force under the "First Emperor," only three were maintained by the Hans, namely, branding the face, cutting off the nose, and amputating the feet (or toes). The cruelty of the punishment is further illustrated by prisoners being allowed to die of cold or hunger, or having their legs fastened with a clamp and severed by being pierced with a gimlet. A punishment called *ya*, or beating with a cudgel, sometimes took the form of "bruising the legs by driving a cart over them." This was the prototype of the modern punishment of pressing the legs with a stick held down by two lictors.

Punishments.

Of the changes which took place in the laws governing crimes and punishments during the remainder of the Han period, we may note the following: In 187 B.C., the punishment of executing the "three clans"—the "three-stock" law which, as we saw, was for two centuries in force in the Ch'in State, and which had been adopted by other states—was abolished by the Empress Lü, and eight years later the Emperor Wên repealed the law by which sons were involved in their fathers' crimes. This emperor, being much affected by the cruelty of the punishments in vogue, substituted shaving the head for branding the face, flogging with 300 strokes for cutting off the nose, and with 500 for amputating the feet (or toes). He also abolished the punishment of mutilation. But it was shortly found necessary to reduce the amount of strokes inflicted from 500 to 300 and from 300 to 200, and subsequently still further, because a man subjected to 500 strokes frequently died, so that "though the emperor got the credit for having decreased the severity of punishments, in reality he caused the death of the criminals." The punishment of castration was, however, still inflicted, as in the case of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, the historian, in 98 B.C. for extenuating the conduct of Li Ling (a commander in the service of the Han emperor, Wu), whose family was exterminated as a

Changes in Han Laws.

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punishment for his defeat by the Hsiung Nu. In 148 B.C., the punishment of *tsê*, being cut open in the market-place, was changed to being "cast out in the market," *i.e.*, public execution. In 43 B.C., the death penalty applied to only thirty-four crimes, but in 6 B.C., to eighty-one, in forty-two of which mitigation was permitted. Leniency was supposed to have led to increase in crime, and the usual course was adopted of memorializing the throne to revert to the former standard. "Using enticing words," a crime which previously involved the three related families of the offender in the punishment of imprisonment, was abolished in A.D. 85.

Exemptions and Commutation.

Besides the usual exemptions on account of age, etc., and rank in some cases, the Hans adopted, by decrees promulgated in 194, 150, and 96 B.C., a system of commuting the death penalty for large fines or purchase of thirty grades of official rank, and by a decree of 179 B.C. for contributions of grain. There was also a means of atonement, as, for example, in the case of sons concealing the crimes of their parents; or if one robber killed another his own crime was pardoned.

Little Change in a Thousand Years.

During the thousand years following the end of the Han dynasties, old laws were modified and new ones made, and punishments were now heavier, now lighter, but the general character of the legislation remained practically unchanged. Enough has been said to show what that character was, and it will be unnecessary to dwell upon the somewhat monotonous record in detail. Our purpose will be served by noting, in conclusion, the laws in force during the last monarchical dynasty, which was brought to a close by the establishment of the Republic in 1912.

At the end of the Monarchical Period, as at its beginning, laws were king-made, castigatory, vindictive, with the primary object of ensuring subordination of the people to their rulers. The Manchus issued *decreta* which were numerous, minute, and circumstantial. But, taken *en masse*, they but serve

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to emphasize the main characteristic of the law as above stated, and, their object being different, omit to deal with numerous matters which, in Western lands, are regarded as proper subjects for legislation. It may help to make clearer our brief survey of what subjects were included in Chinese law (on which the Manchu code was founded) if we note first what subjects were excluded from it. The case has been well put by a writer in the *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol. XL, p. 14)—

Laws under the Manchus.

"The Chinese idea of law . . . being castigatory, it is not to be wondered at that there is no science of civil jurisprudence in the European sense. . . . All matters of what we should call Family Law are left entirely to the family or clan; the government in no way concerns itself—at least so far as taking the initiative goes—with births, marriages, deaths, burials, adoption, legitimacy, divorce, mourning, testamentary dispositions, division and transfer of property, joint ownership, mortgages, sanitation, medicine, midwifery, sobriety or morals; so long as these matters proceed in a normal way, and do not infringe the interests of the Board of Revenue, the licence laws, the principle of ancestral continuity, the currency laws, the revenue laws, and, above all, the Five Cardinal Relations. These are all questions for the family council, and it is only on the comparatively rare occasions when the council actively and spontaneously seeks the assistance of a court that the officials take cognizance: even a murder may be quietly ignored if the clan concerned decides not to complain.[1] In the same way, commercial jurisprudence lies within the private ken of the different trading guilds; banking questions are decided by the marvellous close and effective organization of bankers; junkmen, fishermen, pawnbrokers, post-offices, squatters, money-lenders, doctors—in short, all industries—manage their own affairs and pay the fees with the minimum of government interference, if any; and even then the official action is taken in the interests of public order rather than to assert a legal principle: and although a few laws concerning marriages, inheritance, land transfer, usury, brokerage, etc., are laid down in the codes, these rather express what is the universal custom than impose any fresh 'command.' There is, strictly speaking, no contract law at all, except such as touches the supreme contract of marriage."

[1] Though revengeful, the Chinese are utilitarian enough to be quite ready on most occasions to accept money compensation in cases of homicide, and even murder, arguing that the death of the murderer brings them no material gain and does not restore the victim to life.

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On ascending the throne in 1644, Shun Chih decreed that the laws of the Ming dynasty (embodied in the code of the great Emperor Yung Lo, 1403–25), should be modified so as to include the Manchu customary law, and be re-issued as the laws of the Manchu dynasty. This was done in June, 1647, under the title of *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li*, a collection of the fundamental laws and supplementary statutes of the Great Pure Dynasty. These were composed of the *lü*, the old general statute laws, which were never altered, and *li*, modifications and extensions rendered necessary by changes of time and circumstances.

The Penal Code, etc.

The Penal Code (*lü*), that part of the law which the government was concerned to enforce, was divided into seven main sections, dealing respectively with (1) General Laws (Punishments and Mitigations, etc.); (2) Civil Laws (System of Government; Conduct of the Magistrates); (3) Fiscal Laws (Enrolment of the People; Lands and Tenements; Marriage; Public Property, including Revenue and Coinage; Duties and Customs; Private Property; Sales and Markets); (4) Ritual Laws (Sacred Rites; Miscellaneous Observances); (5) Military Laws (Protection of the Palace; Government of the Army; Protection of the Frontier; Military Horses and Cattle; Expresses and Public Posts); (6) Criminal Laws; (7) Laws relating to Public Works (Public Buildings; Public Ways).

The "Lü."

The *lü* being the general laws handed on unchanged from dynasty to dynasty, the *li* were the means by which those general principles were accommodated to human nature. Except for the unchangeableness of the *lü*, and the secondary or subsidiary character of the *li*, the two might be compared with the old Common and the Statute Law of England. Thus, for example, the *lü* would define the crime and punishment in case of assembling for illegal purposes; the *li* would

The "Li."

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distinguish between assemblies of different numbers of persons and prescribe a particular punishment in each case.

The punishments provided by the Code were (1) *ch'ih*, beating with the light bamboo; (2) *chang*, beating with the heavy bamboo; (3) *t'u*, transportation; (4) *liu*, banishment; and (5) *ssŭ*, death by strangling or decapitation. Transportation was to a short distance for a few years, and banishment to a long distance for life. Besides these punishments, there was also the *ling ch'ih*, "lingering death" or "slicing to pieces," the penalty for high treason, and the "stomach-cutter," for refusing to adopt the Manchu coiffure, both of which were introduced in the period 1023–64 by the Emperor Jên Tsung, who patronized letters and education, and belonged to a dynasty famous for cultivation of literature and the arts. It may be noticed incidentally here that the cruel forms of torture practised by the Chinese were not the invention of the Manchus, whose earliest code sanctioned only two kinds of punishment—death and flogging. The gravity attached to the crime of high treason is shown not only by the decreeing of the *ling ch'ih* as its punishment, but by all principals and accessories being put to death by the same cruel method, all the male relatives above the age of sixteen being indiscriminately beheaded, the female relations and children sold into slavery, and all the property of the family confiscated. A parricide and a slave who killed his master were similarly punished. Barbarous as this punishment was, it could be, and in most cases probably was, mitigated as far as the victim was concerned by bribing the executioner to omit most of the preliminary slices and make the final thrust at an early stage of the proceedings. In 1522, under the native Ming dynasty, false accusation of treason was punished by the torture of "lighting the human lamp," which consisted in wrapping a man in cotton soaked in oil, hanging him up by the heels, and setting him on fire from the top. This was the punishment inflicted for

Punishments.

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the above crime by the Emperor Chia Ch'ing, who is described as having been "rather a poet than a competent administrator," and as having wasted much valuable time in searching after the elixir of life. Before leaving this disagreeable subject, a word of reproach and disgust may be entered against those foreigners who have gone to witness executions and those who have tried to see the *ling ch'ih*.

Besides laying down the punishments which might be legally inflicted, the Penal Code defined the various instruments by which they were to be administered. They were as follows:—(1) a flat, polished piece of bamboo, "the branches cut away," of specified dimensions and weight; when used, to be held by the smaller end; (2) the cangue (properly *chia*), a square frame of dry wood, about three feet square and thirty pounds in weight, worn as a collar; (3) an iron chain about seven feet long and seven pounds in weight; (4) handcuffs of dry wood, used to confine capital prisoners of the male sex; (5) iron fetters weighing one pound, used to confine offenders sentenced to banishment or capital punishment. In addition to these, a supplementary clause of the Code sanctioned the use of two instruments of torture, which might be used in investigating cases of robbery or homicide: (1) for compressing the ankle-bones; and (2) for squeezing the fingers. Torture, thus legally sanctioned, was not only used but abused, and, as long as no complaints were made against the officials employing it, the abuse was disregarded, if not approved, by the responsible authorities. To say that torture, under the recent monarchy, existed in name alone, is either a mistaken or a too lenient view of the matter. During the judicial trials following the Nanch'ang massacre in 1905, which I was sent officially to investigate, some of the murderers were hung up by their thumbs and appeared at the trial with blisters on them the size of a hen's egg, and others were made to kneel on chains in court. In spite of my protests,

Instruments of Punishment.

Torture.

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the Chinese judge maintained that in default of torture there would be no confession, and without confession no criminal could be punished. These were, of course, not isolated instances: the pages of the old and now defunct government record known as the "Metropolitan Report" or "Peking Gazette" (though it was established six centuries before Peking was the capital) and Chinese literature *passim* abound with frank confessions (or rather statements, for no sense of shame is indicated) of the use of torture, legal or illegal. Says one writer—

"Pulling or twisting the ears with roughened fingers, and keeping them in a bent position while making the prisoner kneel on chains, or making him kneel for a long time, are among the illegal modes. Striking the lips with sticks until they are nearly jellied, putting the hands in stocks before or behind the back, wrapping the fingers in oiled cloth to burn them, suspending the body by the thumbs and fingers, tying the hands to a bar under the knees, so as to bend the body double, and chaining by the neck close to a stone, are resorted to when the prisoner is contumacious. Compelling them to kneel upon pounded glass, sand, and salt mixed together, until the knees become excoriated, or simply kneeling upon chains is a lighter mode of punishment."

The chief check upon the use of these outrageous methods of eliciting confession and of punishment was the fear that, if reported to superiors, they would be used to get the officer removed in order to fill his post with one of the superior's favourites. In this as in other branches of Chinese administration, it has been said, "the dread of one evil prevents the commission of another." In the absence of this dread, the result might have been far worse.

Though the principle of "life for life" was an axiom with the Chinese, it was not always necessary to take life in order to incur the death penalty. Besides high treason and parricide, capital crimes included serving a foreign state, practising magic, stealing sacrificial implements, imperial or official seals or 120 ounces of silver, counterfeiting coin, robbery and kidnapping by violence, opening a coffin, homicide, etc. Crimes punishable with banishment were kidnapping by

Crimes.

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PUNISHMENT OF THE CANGUE

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stratagem, attempt to murder, charging with killing, striking an officer, beating a disobedient son or grandson to death, adultery, abduction, etc. Transportation was the sentence for indecent assault, criminal intercourse with a relative, procuring abortion, etc.; and bambooing for theft, entering a house at night, quarrelling and fighting, a wife striking a husband, abusive language, fornication, accidentally setting fire to one's own house, making false weights and measures, gambling, etc. There were also the same exemptions as before on account of age, etc., and redemptions by means of fines.

With all its shortcomings, the Manchu Penal Code seems to have fulfilled the purpose for which it was compiled fairly well, and according to the native view to have been well adapted to deal with the nature of the people for whom it was intended. "The people have," said Staunton, writing in 1810, "a high regard for the code, and all they seem to desire is its just and impartial execution, independent of caprice and uninfluenced by corruption. . . . There are substantial grounds for believing that neither flagrant nor repeated acts of injustice do, in point of fact, in any rank or station, ultimately escape with impunity." And again—

Appreciation of the Code.

"By far the most remarkable thing in this code is its great reasonableness, clearness, and consistency, the business-like brevity and directness of the various provisions, and the plainness and moderation in which they are expressed. There is nothing here of the monstrous verbiage of most other Asiatic productions, none of the superstitious deliberation, the miserable incoherence, the tremendous *non-sequiturs* and eternal repetitions of those oracular performances—nothing even of the turgid adulation, accumulated epithets, and fatiguing self-praise of other Eastern despotisms—but a calm, concise, and distinct series of enactments, savouring throughout of practical judgment and European good sense, and if not always conformable to our improved notions of expediency, in general approaching to them more nearly than the codes of most other nations. . . . In everything relating to political freedom or individual independence it is indeed woefully defective; but for the repression of disorder, and the gentle coercion of a vast population, it appears to be equally mild and efficacious."

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To which it need only be added that, reasonable and admirable though the code may have been as an achievement of an Eastern despotism, its primary object was the enforcement of authority, individual interests being given a secondary place. We have in it, added to almost all previous Chinese legislation, another partial cause of Chinese rigidity. It was probably largely due to the self-management of their affairs already indicated, and not to the mere existence of a body of laws which left them largely untouched but served principally to bind the people together in a rigid mass, that the vast social aggregate forming the Chinese nation carried on a relatively peaceful and happy existence, while, owing to this rigidity, it was at the same time unprogressive. As a result of what is known as the Reform Movement towards the end of this period, a code of laws, known as the Provisional Code and largely founded on Western systems, was drawn up and put in force. This was adopted substantially by the Republican *régime*. Its chief characteristic was the substitution of hanging or strangling for decapitation, and of imprisonment for bambooing.

Republican Period

Law-making under the Republic.

During its brief existence from April to November, 1913, the parliament instituted by the Chinese Republic passed, as we saw, but one important measure, the Presidential Election Law. It was then dissolved by the President. Those who regard the majority of laws as so much grandmotherly State meddling, and as measures destined to be repealed only after they have had time to do an immense amount of mischief, must look upon an elective body which passes but one law in six months with a certain amount of admiration. But, however much the habit of reckless law-making should be restricted in well-ordered communities, some laws are necessary. Though the Provisional Code remained nominally

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in force the parliament had not accomplished anything great in the way of useful and beneficial legislation, and its sessions had not invariably set an example of peaceful deliberation and friendly discussion. On more than one occasion, ink-pots (or the Chinese equivalent, the ink-slab) had been hurled through the air, and there had been great uproar. It is an interesting question whether, in their unlegislated-for condition after the dissolution of parliament —when they were without laws, human or divine—the people were not as happy and prosperous as if masses of laws had been passed every month. The mandates, manifestoes, instructions, and rescripts, of the President, which were intended to fill the void, seemed to tend towards the re-establishment of status as opposed to contract, of authority as opposed to justice, and did not commend themselves to those who remembered that millenniums of that sort of thing had not resulted in any adequate advance on the part of the nation.

Local Government

Little Room for Local Government.

In a social structure where, as in China, the regulative apparatus is extensive, we may expect to find its roots very deep down in the social structure. The outermost tentacles of the Chinese official octopus are the branch offices attached to the post of the administrative unit, the ***Chih Hsien***, or District Magistrate (now called ***Chih Shih***). These feelers are remote offshoots of the General Government. All that is beyond them comes under the designation of Local Government.

At first no Local Officials.

In the earliest times in China not even this small amount of autonomy existed; the patriarchal wing covered everything. There were, we read, "no local officials," and the case may be truthfully stated by adding that throughout subsequent ages there were very few. By "local officials," I do not mean the agents of the central administration

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officiating in the provinces and districts, to whom that term is often applied, but all outside that body, *i.e.*, those who came below the lowest sub-branch of the official hierarchy and above the father exercising his paternal authority over his family. In other words, we have to consider not those who were appointed by the central government or its agents, but those who were elected by the people to safeguard their local interests. And the first of these were the village elder or country squire and the bailiff or rural constable.

The Village Elder.

The village elder, called *hsiang lao* or *hsiang chang*, was elected by the clans who were in a majority in the village. His duties consisted in exercising supervision over the police and a general oversight over what took place in the village. He also acted in a judicial capacity in petty disputes, inflicting punishment if necessary, and enforcing the regulations concerning markets, streets, taxes, festivals, etc. He acted as spokesman between the villagers and higher authorities, and arranged matters with other villages. He received a salary from his fellow villagers, proportionate to the size of the village and the number of duties attached to the post.

The Rural Constable.

The rural constable, called *ti pao*, or *pao chia*, was under the control of the village elder as well as under that of the local government officials. His office had its origin in an ancient tithing system under which every hundred families constituted a *chia*, and each *chia* was divided into ten *pai*. Over each *pai* was a head man elected by the ten families, and over the *chia* was a head man called *pao chia*, or protector of the *chia*, usually spoken of as the *ti pao*. The *ti pao* reported to the District Magistrate at fixed intervals during each month all important occurrences within the *chia*. His functions were of an exceedingly miscellaneous description, from the care of the village gates, the catching of robbers, and the supervision of markets to the engagement of theatrical

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companies and the sinking of wells for the use of the village. He kept a register containing particulars of every family in his *chia*, and affixed a schedule giving these particulars on the street door of each house. The post of *ti pao* was filled by men from the lower classes, but the incumbent was not necessarily a man of unscrupulous character, the bad reputation so often given him by foreigners being probably due to the custom of "squeezing," to which he was supposed to be especially prone, but perhaps not more so than most Chinese officials in the lower ranks under the late *régime*.

It will be necessary to refer briefly to two other local institutions which entered into the government of the relations between man and man, and between various bodies of men, namely, the ancestral hall and the village temple. In the former were preserved the memorial tablets of the clan, which in most cases would represent the entire village. It was the scene of elaborate rituals and ceremonies at the various festivals. All members of the clan had equal rights and duties with regard to the ancestral hall. They had duly to observe the clan customs and code of morality, attend the various ceremonies, assist other members in cases of infringement of their rights, or in cases of deserving poverty, and generally to do what they could to keep up the honour and prosperity of the clan in the sight of their ancestors as well as of the material world.

The Ancestral Hall.

The ancestral hall was a memorial hall and meeting-place for the clan. The village temple represented a sort of local self-governing council for the village in general irrespective of clanship. Besides filling the place of an ecclesiastical retreat for those who wished to address themselves to the particular god which the villagers may have seen fit to install there, such as the God of War, the God of Literature, the Rain God, etc., it was also a sort of town hall, the vicarious representative of a council of officers elected in rotation from the heads

The Village Temple.

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of the various families in the village. It was the centre of the social life and guardian of the relations with other villages and with the central government. Inter-village treaties are made by the village templers. A stranger suffering at the hands of the villagers would address his complaint to the temple. And the temple was supposed to keep up the "face" of the village *vis-a-vis* other villages. It provided for the annual festival of its patron, a sort of yearly carnival latterly more social than religious. It had also other administrative and judicial functions, taking charge of police matters, repair of roads, etc., lighting dangerous places, furnishing defence works, supplying free education, medical attendance, burial, etc., in case of need, and deciding petty criminal cases. It has been described as being for the Chinese village what the County Council and Quarter Sessions are for an English county.

All Subject to the Higher Power.

It must of course not be inferred from the above that Chinese villages constituted thousands of minute *imperia in imperio* independent of the general superior governmental authority. Every individual in China, as we saw, was owned by the emperor, and the village elder and rural constable were his as much as the viceroy and the governor. The functions of these posts tended to become hereditary, but, though elected, the appointees were subject to the approval of the district officials. The village eldership, etc., simply amounted to this, that through long custom and on account of the distance from the village or inaccessibility in most cases of the nearest agent of the provincial authorities, certain matters had been left to be dealt with in this unofficial or semi-official way instead of being regarded as part of the duties of the emissaries of the central government. The village and the clan, being in many cases identical, partook of a domestic as much as of a public character. But these local self-governing agents themselves were yet subject to the higher power. To it they were ultimately

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responsible. The post of *ti pao*, in fact, gradually partook of the nature of a governmental office, and the superior officers in a district appointed grain agents and other subordinates to exercise a general surveillance over the village headmen, who were liable to corporate punishment in case of serious trouble in the village. The "temple" itself was nominally responsible to the central government for the good administration of the village. The importance of this local self-government lies in the fact that three-fourths of the population of China live in the villages.

MILITARY INSTITUTIONS

Feudal Period

Militancy and Industrialism.

If, as extremes, we take a wholly military community on the one hand and a wholly industrial community on the other, we may imagine progress from the first state towards the last as taking place through some members of the former relinquishing their duties, till then completely and perennially of a military nature, for industrial pursuits; through the gradually decreasing ratio which the fighting part bears to the rest of the community; through the differentiation of civil and military rule by the establishment of a separate military head and the replacing of the primitive heads of loosely-organized fighting groups by a graduated system of officers, each having separate functions, but all co-operating under the centralized control; and lastly, through the establishment of a permanent fighting force distinct from the rest of the community, in place of sporadic gathering together and subsequent dispersal of the fighting men as occasion demanded, thus ensuring efficient organization. It will be necessary for our present purpose to trace the process beyond this point.

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Early Chinese Military System.

Examination of the first Chinese military systems of which we have any record reveals all the characteristics of a primitive condition. The whole nation was the fighting force. The terms "host" and "population" being interchangeable, the heads of the two were one and the same person: the king was not only chief of the executive, but also commander-in-chief of the army. However, though the whole nation was the fighting force, that force was not permanently engaged in fighting. Normally the population was occupied in the labours of husbandry, and was only called upon by the king or prince to engage in military operations when occasion demanded. And, in order that they might make effective warriors, reviews and manoeuvres were held at those seasons when the fields were clear of crops. At the great hunts, also, opportunity was taken to practise the methods of warfare.

Preliminaries of Battle.

As to the preliminaries of warfare and the forces engaged, we find ample material in Chinese classical and other standard literature to furnish us with clear ideas on the subject. Councils of war were held, and prayers and sacrifices offered to the manes of deceased rulers. In order that these might be present to aid them, the tablets from the temple shrines were carried with the army on warlike expeditions, a practice which seems to have increased till, instead of one, the tablets of all the "seven temple-shrines" were taken. This met with the disapproval of Confucius, who held that none of the seven shrines of a king or five of a prince ought to be left empty. Further preliminaries to going out to war are graphically put in the following passage from the *Lieh Kuo Chih*—

"Now, when the army of Ch'u was drawn up in order of battle, quite close to the camp in which the troops of Chin were entrenched . . . the king of Ch'u mounted a war-chariot with a look-out on it, from which he was able to survey the enemy's camp. He then ordered Po Chou-li, his Secretary of State, to stand by his side. . . . 'There

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are men running to the left and to the right within the enemy's camp. What does that mean?' asked the king. 'They are calling the officers,' replied Chou-li. Again the king said: 'Now they are collected in great numbers in the midst of the camp.' 'They are met to take counsel,' answered Chou-li. The king looked again and said: 'All of a sudden they are pitching a tent. What is the reason of this?' 'They are offering prayers to the manes of the deceased rulers of Chin.' And the king looked again and said: 'Now they are again removing the tent.' 'That means that the orders to the army are about to be issued.' 'Why,' continued the king, 'is there such a clamour in the hostile army? And why do I all at once see clouds of dust rising thick and fast in their camp?' 'They are shutting up the wells and levelling the cooking-places in order to gain room for their movements.' 'Now they are putting the horses to their chariots, and their officers are mounting the carriages,' resumed the king. 'They are going to form their ranks.' 'But why,' asked the king, 'do those who had mounted the chariots descend once more?' 'It is to prostrate themselves on the ground and pray to the gods, before they face us in battle.'"

Composition of Fighting Forces.

The infantry, as we saw, was composed of the labourers recalled from the fields. The armies were formed of the strong men, the weak and old kept watch, able-bodied women assisting the fighting men in various ways. Generally speaking, all who had reached the age for fitting on mail (*i.e.*, manhood) went out to war, but in some cases we find that all above the age of fifteen were enlisted. An army was made up of foot-soldiers and charioteers. War-chariots were made of wood and also of leather, the former being less able to withstand the rough wear of cross-country work. The ordinary fighting chariot, which was regarded as the principal element of a Chinese army, was drawn by four horses. The charioteer was in the middle; one warrior, wielding a spear, was on his right, and another, fighting with bow and arrow, on his left. Only in the chariot of the general, who "thundered on a drum to urge the troops forward," was the driver on the left. The spearman on the right "was not his esquire to hand him his arms, but a noted warrior of great strength to protect him, and take part in the battle as he was needed." A

The Chariot.

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troop of soldiers was attached to each chariot. Thus the term "chariot" was a collective name (such as, for example, "lance" in the middle ages in England). A chariot represented a strength of seventy-five men and four horses: three cuirassiers in the chariot and seventy-two foot-soldiers. These numbers varied in different ages, and about 580 B.C. we read of 100 and 125 men attached to each. But each chariot had also about twenty-five other men attached to it to look after the baggage, cooking, etc., so that an average chariot would represent 100 men. The chariot of the sovereign, or of the commander-in-chief, had six or eight horses yoked abreast.

The ordinary chariot drawn by four horses had two yoked to the pole and two to the transverse bar of the chariot. The horses were protected by mail, and the chariot by bucklers in front. The horses' bits were of metal and fitted with bells. The sides of the chariot were covered with boards as a defence against the arrows of the enemy. In the chief's chariot the projecting ends of the axle-trees were covered with lacquered leather guards, and the curved end of the pole was also protected with leather, painted in five colours. Both civil and military officers had iron "ears" or points to their chariots, which curved up like cows' horns, possibly resembling the scythes used by the ancient Persians.

The size of an Army.

Though nominally the king was supposed to possess a force of 10,000, and a vassal one of 1,000 war chariots, and mention is made of forces of 3,000 chariots (300,000 men), the actual numbers were usually much less. The whole force of the kings of Chou only amounted to six armies of 12,500 men each. The king at first took the field in person, but in later times it is said to have been the custom to engage one of the professional "masters of war" who wandered from state to state to impart the secrets of victory to the highest bidder. The king had a bodyguard, a grand army of 300 chariots, and an advanced guard of ten chariots. Though cavalry is

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stated to have been used by Wu Wang (1169–1116 B.C.) and to have greatly contributed to his victory over Chou Hsin, and riding on horseback is mentioned under the year 517 B.C., it was not an ordinary weapon of warfare; but about 300 B.C., the regular use of war chariots suddenly ceased (though we come across them again in the history of subsequent periods), and this is said to have been due to the use of cavalry from the semi-Tartar states and also to the introduction of boats and gigantic canal works by the "coast powers," causing boat expeditions to become the rule, even in the north of China.

Accessories of Warfare.

Ox-waggons containing baggage and provisions, as well as droves of cattle, followed the army. When unloaded the chariots were arranged round the place of encampment. "The feeble watched the baggage, while the strong advanced against the enemy." The warriors wore buskins on their legs. Besides the chariots and horses, there were used in warfare armour and helmets, bows and arrows, spears, shields, pikes, fighting towers, waggons and oxen ramparts, stages, battering-rams, siege-engines, posts and planks for making entrenchments, beacon-fires, hides and leather ornamented with red lacquer and figures of panthers and elephants, halberds twenty-four feet long, pikes twelve feet long, catapults, banners, flags, streamers, standards, cymbals, horns, drums, bells, etc. Instances are related of elephants, used in attacking the enemy, being excited to make furious charges by combustibles put under their tails and kindled. Before battle, warriors stimulated one another by mock combats. The drum gave the signal for attack, the gong for retreat. A tongued bell, called *to*, conveyed the injunction to stand still and be quiet in the ranks. The latter object was also obtained by means of gags, made of wood, and worn by the soldiers in their mouths, secured by cords passing to the back of the head. On going into action a line was formed, with the

Method of Fighting.

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bowmen on the left and the spearmen on the right flank, the centre being occupied by the chariots. Spy-kites were in use, and directions were conveyed by means of signalling-flags.

During the battle, the troops were urged forward by the beating of drums. The ranks were readjusted after every few paces. Few prisoners were made, and the left ears of the slain were cut off and presented to the king or prince. The vanquished chief was put to death, and those of the common soldiers who were not made slaves were released after having their left ears cut off. Strategy was often resorted to. The portcullis is mentioned as in use in 562 B.C. at the siege of Pi Yang, at which K'ung Shu-liang Ho, the father of Confucius, and a soldier of great stature, prowess, and daring, held up the massive structure with both hands whilst his men passed underneath. The walls of fortified cities were scaled by means of hooked ladders. Parleys were held and terms of peace arranged under a banner of truce, and paeans played on the return from battle.

The Science of Warfare.

In the sixth century B.C., warfare in China became a science through the work of Sun Wu (usually known as Sun Tzŭ), his ideas being supplemented in the fourth century B.C. by Wu Ch'i (usually known as Wu Tzŭ). These works greatly influenced military operations throughout subsequent ages. The principles therein advocated will be sufficiently illustrated by stringing together a series of quotations—

"Do not eat the bait of the enemy; returning troops should not stop; troops besieging others should leave one side open (so as not to render the enemy too desperate). Do not pursue a desperate enemy."

"War meaning ravage, it was essential that the operations should be conducted in the enemy's territory. Once there, however, a vigorous offensive is no longer advised. 'At first behave with the discretion of a maiden,' is the counsel of Sun. The enemy must be induced to take the initiative, and when he is worn out by marching, or makes a false move, 'then dart in like a rabbit.'"

"The frontal attack was considered unworthy of the skilful general.

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The army should be divided into two forces. The enemy is 'attracted and engaged by one force, and defeated with the other.'"

"The passage of a river should not be disputed, as the enemy will probably give up the attempt, and make the passage untouched at some other point, but he should be attacked when half his force is across the stream. An army should not encamp on a river below the enemy, as it is thereby liable to be inundated, or to have its water poisoned; or the enemy may come down stream and make a sudden attack."

"Even successful war brings evil in its train. Few are those who have gained power on earth by many victories. War should not be undertaken until a careful comparison of the two sides shows that victory is certain. Hence the importance of knowledge of the intelligence of the enemy and of the spy."

"War is a thing of pretence: therefore, when capable of action, we pretend disability; when near to the enemy, we pretend to be far; when far away, we pretend to be near. Allure the enemy by giving him a small advantage. Confuse and capture him. If there be defects, give an appearance of perfection, and awe the enemy. Pretend to be strong, and so cause the enemy to avoid you. Make him angry, and confuse his plans. Pretend to be inferior, and cause him to despise you. If you have superabundance of strength, tire him out; if united, make divisions in his camp. Attack weak points, and appear in unexpected places. These are the secrets of the successful strategist."

But "better than defeating a country by fire and the sword, is to take it without strife. The supreme art is to subdue the enemy without fighting. Wherefore the most skilful warrior outwits the enemy by superior stratagem. A siege should not be undertaken if it can possibly be avoided. The ancient masters of war first made their armies invincible, then waited until the adversary could with certainty be defeated."

There are a very large number of other valuable precepts, but we may conclude with the faults to be avoided by generals—

"Generals must be on their guard against these five dangerous faults: Blind impetuosity, which leads to death. Over-cautiousness, which leads to capture. Quick temper, which brings insult. A too rigid propriety, which invites disgrace. Over-regard for the troops, which causes inconvenience. These five faults in the leader are disastrous in war."

After peace had been concluded, hostages were exchanged as a guarantee of mutual good faith.

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Monarchical Period

As a first step towards forming a standing army, the "First Emperor," Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, decreed a general disarmament throughout the provinces, and ordered all weapons to be sent to his capital at Hsien Yang. He then caused them to be melted up, his idea being, that since all the warriors had been disarmed and dispersed throughout the empire and the only remaining weapons were in the capital, calamity could never befall him. But he did not suspect that weapons would be made out of wood or of bamboo poles, and that, every person being a soldier, his kingdom could thus be overthrown. His standing army was formed from those classes of the community which had no fixed profession and of men of exceptional physical strength; but, plausible though his plan may have been, it availed him nothing in the end.

Formation of a Standing Army.

The Hans, however, adopted the same principle, having North and South armies in the capital and imperial guards in all the provinces. There was also a body-guard of skilled archers and horsemen. In extreme cases the guards in the capital were sent to the seat of war. But during the latter part of the Later Han dynasty, if not earlier, all the people were disciplined—soldiers, scholars, and great ministers alike practising the military art, thus obviating the necessity of keeping the soldiers constantly mobilized. The nation was again the army, called out or dismissed as occasion required, with its nucleus in the special permanent forces in the capital.

The Han System.

The appliances for warfare had not greatly changed. Prayers were offered before going to war by the Director of the Imperial Board of Astronomy whilst he held the military flags pointing towards the enemy's country. Sacrificial animals were slain, and an "awe-inspiring peck measure," in the shape of Ursa Major, was carried before the troops when

Appliances.

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they advanced, and at their side when they retired. Chariots were no longer martialled in battle array, but in the native Han histories mention is made of war chariots with a turret (or spy-tower) for spying out the enemy, some of which required several oxen to pull them. The same histories refer to the weapons in use: "With their strong mail and sharp swords, long and short mixed together, cross-bows travelling to and fro, the *shih* and *wu*, files of ten and five men, advanced, and the Hsiung Nu (Huns) were not able to resist them." Those in front were armed with three-pronged lances and shields, whilst those in the rear had bows and cross-bows. Trumpets, bells, drums, cymbals, etc., were used to convey commands and signals, and many ornamented banners and flags accompanied the troops. It is also recorded that generals had their orders cut on seals for rapid circulation among the soldiers under their command.

Columns were formed with the lancers in front and the bowmen behind; skilful cavalry tactics adopted to surround the enemy's forces, and bodies of soldiers detailed to cut off his grain supply; raised paths thrown up to transport provisions for the army, and moats and fortifications used as a means of defence. In 200 B.C., the ruse of concealing the brave soldiers and fat oxen, showing only old and weak soldiers and lean cattle, was successfully tried by the Hsiung Nu against the Chinese Emperor Kao Tsu. About fifty years later the system of military settlements known as *t'un t'ien*, which has lasted down to modern times, was originated. This was a sort of feudal system in miniature. In return for their allotments, the cultivation of which furnished their means of livelihood, the settlers contributed service or taxes in money or kind to assist in defraying the expenses of the administration.

Tactics.

During the following fourteen centuries the principal changes in the military system were as follows: After the extinction of the Later Han dynasty, Chu-ko Liang (A.D.

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181–234), the famous general and popular hero under Liu Pei, the founder of the Kingdom of Shu or Minor Han dynasty, improved and perfected a series of military tactics known as the "Eight Dispositions," and also made use for transport purposes, of the device of "wooden oxen and running horses"—the nature of which has, unfortunately, not been recorded for the benefit of succeeding generations—and invented a bow for shooting several arrows simultaneously. He "used gongs and drums to mislead his enemies," possibly in connection with the "wooden oxen and running horses." The importance of previous strict military training, which was to extend over a period of seven years, was recognized. Generals were to instruct their subordinate officers in the "evolution of drill, movements, and the meaning of flags."

Chu-ko Liang's Military Genius.

It must be understood, however, that the soldiers, as a rule, advanced in irregular hordes, and not in symmetrical regiments, from which the Chinese had a strong aversion until they adopted Western military systems. Military exercises were practised, single-file columns being first formed and others built up out of them. About this time we read of chariots being used, not for purposes of assault, but for protection and transport. If attacked on both sides, the troops protected themselves with the chariots and awaited the onslaught of the enemy. At other times the chariots conveyed food and weapons on the march and formed a ring round the camp. Later on we read that in open country chariot regiments of the fish formation were used, whereas chariots used in defiles were constructed with turrets from which the soldiers fought as they advanced.

The period 265–420 was an age of strategy rather than of hard fighting. Instruction in military science was given in the national college. Of the tactics in Wu, we gain some idea from the following passage in the native *History of the Chin Dynasty*—

An Age of Strategy.

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"The men of Wu laid iron chains across the river wherever there were dangerous places; also they made sharp-pointed spikes of iron more than one *chang* long to scatter in the river to prevent the enemy's fleet from entering. Now Yang Yu had arrested a spy of Wu, from whom he learnt all about the enemy's movements. So Wang Chün made 10 large rafts, 100 paces in area, and placed on them men made of straw, wearing armour and holding clubs; then he ordered good swimmers to pull them rapidly up the river. When the spikes struck the rafts they were carried away by them. Also he made large torches, more than 10 *chang* long and several tens of cubits in circumference; these he soaked in oil and placed on the bows of ships, in order to burn the chains, which were soon melted or broken. By these means his ships were able to pass without hindrance."

Troops were trained for forest warfare, and rivers dammed with bags of earth to flood out besieged cities. Towards the end of the third century A.D., Ma Lung, a military marquis of the Chin dynasty, is said to have defeated the Tartars by covering the sides of a pass with lodestone, so that the mail-clad warriors with their weapons were unable to move either forwards or backwards and were easily vanquished. As a result of this, mail made of rhinoceros hide or horns seems to have been adopted as the safest when warring in narrow defiles. Gunpowder was as yet unknown, but towards the end of this period "crackling or exploding staves" and machines for discharging stone projectiles are mentioned, which will be referred to again in the section on Weapons.

Remains of Enemy Mangled.

The Chinese made quite sure that their vanquished and slain enemies should trouble them no more. The dead, as we saw, were looked upon as liable to return, but mutilation prevented this; hence the preference for strangling to decapitation; and hence also the mangling or destroying of the remains of an enemy, as the most severe punishment. Even after burial the corpse of an enemy would be exhumed and decapitated or burned as a last savage act of revenge.

During the Sui, T'ang, and Sung dynasties (589–1280), the principal features of military progress were the raising of huge armies and the creation of a navy, which at the end of

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this period numbered 5,000 ships manned by 70,000 trained fighters. The Tartar hordes were pressing more and more on the northern frontiers, and the reaction was shown in the fact that, during the short-lived Sui dynasty, the massed troops numbered 1,133,800. The use of the hollow square (of mixed nfantry and dragoons surrounded by chariots forming an abattis) was understood, but, being regarded as a slow or ineffectual manoeuvre of defence, was discarded for the more mobile cavalry column.

Huge Armies and Navies.

But the step which really secured long peace and security to the empire was that taken by T'ai Tsung, the second emperor of the great T'ang dynasty. Though the army had recently increased in size, the military forces up to that time had been little better than a rude militia, the officers without military knowledge, the soldiers, for the most part peasants, undisciplined, unwilling fighters, easily panic-stricken, "whose celerity and dash only became perceptible when their backs were turned to the foe." T'ai Tsung saw the necessity of a large and efficient standing army, but he had no mind to recruit his forces from the braver and more active Tartar tribes, as some of his predecessors had endeavoured to do. Overcoming many obstacles, he raised a standing army of 900,000 men, divided into three classes of regiments, numbering 895 in all, 634 being for home and 261 for foreign service. The term of service was from twenty to sixty. There were regiments of cuirassiers, archers, halberdiers, shield-bearers, and mounted spearmen. Cavalry co-operated with infantry. Every two families supplied one soldier. A Tribunal of War, entrusted with the supreme direction of military matters, was instituted, and special attention given to the training of a large body of officers. Weapons were improved, and more than ever before the army was formidable for its efficiency, equipment, and numerical strength.

T'ang T'ai Tsung's Military System.

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In the period of the Five Dynasties which followed that of the T'ang, we read of tunnels being dug to attack cities, some of which had double walls and moats. At this time, the fighting forces were provided by a so-called "voluntary" enlistment from one out of every seven families, the men having to provide their armour and weapons themselves, all those between fifteen and seventy who were eligible for service being branded on the face. In 907 alone the number thus marked was 200,000. The uselessness of mere numbers was illustrated when all fowlers and hunters were ordered to learn the military art. "At this time every battle ended in defeat: this was caused not by there being too few soldiers, but by there being too many. The strong and weak being alike employed, they were defeated by the enemy. For the weak ran away first, and the strong could not fight alone." In 909 two-deck vessels were used in naval engagements. Sand was used to give purchase for the soldiers' feet on the decks of their own ships, lime was thrown into the air to blind the enemy, and quantities of beans on to the enemy's decks, so that as the beans got soaked with blood they caused the fighters to slip and fall. Divers were also employed to fasten the enemy's ships with iron chains whilst they were being attacked, and in rivers similar chains were sunk in the stream, and as the ships passed over them they were hauled up by means of windlasses by soldiers concealed behind ramparts on the banks, the enemy's warriors being shot by the cross-bow archers before they could escape. Sacrifices were still made before starting out on warlike expeditions and announcements of the same given out in the ancestral temple.

Method of Warfare during the Five Dynasties.

The example of T'ang T'ai Tsung was followed by T'ai Tsu, the first emperor of the great Sung dynasty. He paid close attention to the improvement of the troops and particularly to the training of officers, who were called upon to pass examinations in professional subjects as well as in physical

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exercises, the theory and practice of archery, and other warlike arts. The army was of enormous size, numbering not less than 1,000,000, but the evils of a large number of non-productive members of the community, creating a serious financial burden, began to be felt, and Shên Tsung (1068–86) took steps to reduce it to more manageable dimensions. The successful employment of cavalry by the Kins, who charged at full speed shooting arrows, using swords and pikes when at close quarters, stimulated its use by the Chinese, who however did not make good horsemen. We read also of four-wheeled chariots, carrying twenty-four combatants, which were apparently used for offensive as well as for defensive purposes. Along with much that was progressive there went a good deal that was primitive, though apparently effectual. In the *History of the Southern Sung Dynasty*, we find this passage—

The Sung Military System.

"Yao (Yang Yao), trusting in his strength, would not submit, and launched vessels in the lake (T'aihu) which struck the water with wheels and went along as if they were flying; they carried poles on the sides to break up the government vessels they met. Fei (Yao Fei) felled trees on the Chün mountain and made enormous rafts to bar the confluence of the streams and scattered rotten wood and straw which the current floated down. Then choosing shallow places, he sent good swearers to provoke the enemy by abusing them as they went along. The rebels, getting angry, came in pursuit, but the straw and wood obstructed the wheels of the vessels and prevented their moving. Fei at once sent soldiers to attack them, and when the rebels fled up stream they were stopped by the rafts on which the government troops, safely sheltered against arrows and stones by extended hides, battered their vessels with big beams and destroyed them completely. Yao jumped into the water, but Niu Kao seized and beheaded him."

The Mongol success in 1280 was due to the military genius of Genghis Khan and to discipline and study of the art of war on the part of his subjects. But neither his nor the native Ming dynasty which followed it produced any important military change which we need stop to consider in detail. It must be noted, however, that the propulsive effect of gunpowder,

Mongol, Ming, and Manchu Militarism.

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though not a native invention, was now understood, and weapons in which it was used began to be adopted. In 1449, the *shên chi* division, which took its name from the tubes of inflammable material which were fastened to the bodies of horses and oxen, used the rifle, but as it was feared that it would be useless in rainy weather, a division of youths, known as the *yu chün*, was formed and trained in the use of long shields and swords. When we examine the military institutions under the Manchu *régime* towards the end of twenty centuries of monarchical rule, we find them practically in the same state as they were at the beginning.

The Eight Banners.

The chief distinction to be noted in the military organization after the Manchu conquest in 1644 is that between the Bannermen, the force of the usurping family, and the troops of the Green Standard, who were with very few exceptions entirely Chinese. Originally the Manchu forces were arranged under four banners only—yellow, red, blue, and white. Shortly after the conquest of China, the number of troops being considered insufficient, four more Banners were organized. The standards borne by the latter had a border of a different colour round the original yellow, red, blue, or white, and they were accordingly called *Hsiang Ch'i*, or Bordered Banners, to distinguish them from the *Chêng Ch'i*, or Plain Banners. There were thus altogether *Pa Ch'i*, or Eight Banners, composed of Manchus, Mongol Tartars, and *Han Chün*, Chinese or their descendants who forsook the cause of the Mings when their country was invaded. The first three, comprising the bordered and plain yellow and the plain white, were styled the superior, and the remaining five the inferior Banners. The organization was conceived in the same spirit and form as that of their Nüchên ancestors. The total number of troops in the Eight Banners towards the end of the eighteenth century has been estimated at 100,000. These troops were stationed in all the important cities of the empire, where they were

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garrisoned in a special quarter known as the Tartar city. They were independent of the civil authorities, their principal duty being to prevent any uprising of the people. At their head in each province was a Tartar General, who was Commander-in-Chief of all the troops in that province, under him being Generals (*Chiang Chün*), Major-Generals (*Tu T'ung*), etc. The Bannermen entered the army at about the age of twenty and served until old age compelled them to retire. They received pay at the rate of from two to four taels (the tael being then equal to about six shillings) a month, or in some districts the equivalent in rice. The post of a battalion commander, including salary and allowances, etc., was worth about 500 taels a month. The officers were divided into nine grades, and before promotion were examined as to their physical strength, skill in horsemanship, and proficiency in the use of the bow.

Divisions of the Banners.

The principal divisions of the Banner forces were the Vanguard Division, the Artillery and Musket Division, the Peking Field Force, and the *Yüan Ming Yüan* Division for the protection of the Summer Palace. The third is the only one which requires explanation. After the disastrous campaign of 1860 against the British and French armies, the Chinese authorities, with a view to provide for the future security of the seat of central government, organized a force named the *Shên Chi Ying*, composed of 18,000 to 20,000 men, including cavalry, artillery, and rifle regiments, drilled and manoeuvred after the European fashion. The instruction of these troops was "based upon lessons in European drill which were given to detachments sent to Tientsin for the purpose of studying under British instructors in 1862–1865." We saw that a *shên chi* division had been created in the Ming dynasty, which was the first to use the prototypes of modern fire-arms, and the name of that division was now given to this new branch of the army. Herein we find

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MARBLE BRIDGE AT SUMMER PALACE

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the germ from which grew the reform of the Chinese army on modern lines.

The Army of the Green Standard.

The native army, or Army of the Green Standard (*Lü Ying*), was composed of two kinds of soldiers—those who were permanently with the colours, and those who, like the agriculturists of feudal times, followed their own trades in their native districts, and were called in to fight when war was imminent. The latter were named *yung*, or "braves," and received four taels per month, the permanent soldier receiving two. The native army was divided into *lu lu*, or land forces, and *shui shih*, or marine, the ranks and designations being identical in both. The former, numbering about 500,000, are described as having been an absolutely effete organization, discharging the duties of sedentary garrisons and local constabulary, but superseded by the "braves" on all occasions when active service was required. There were sixteen Commanders-in-Chief, twelve of whom were confined to the military branch, but with control of inland navigation; two military, with command of the naval forces; and two exclusively naval. Military and civil duties were still largely undifferentiated; and civil officers of the same rank as the military officers continued to be placed above the latter, to guard against insurrection of the forces. Military officers were held in contempt, and the command of an army in war-time was frequently given to a civilian, on the argument that the military officials, not having passed the literary examinations, would not have the necessary knowledge, whereas the *literati*, who had undergone seven tests, and who, at any rate, must have read about war in the classical if not also in other writings, would be more competent to carry on war than uneducated military officials. The different ranks of the native army were: Commander-in-Chief; Brigade General; Colonel; Lieutenant-Colonel; Major; Captain; Lieutenant; Sergeant; Corporal; each in command of greater or smaller bodies of men stationed

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in the cities and towns, and co-operating with the various military officials. Each province was by imperial decree compelled to enrol a fixed number of its inhabitants to serve under the Green Standard. These formed a militia or "train-bands" (*t'uan lien*), and it was of these that the notorious "Boxers" of 1900 were chiefly formed.

Special Troops.

Besides the Banner and Green Standard forces, special troops were formed, soon after the awakening of China by the sound of Western guns, by two of China's most famous Viceroys, Li Hung-chang and Tso Tsung-t'ang. Li took three battalions formed at Tientsin in 1865, had them drilled and disciplined by European officers and instructed in infantry manoeuvres. Others were instructed in field artillery and heavy gun-drill, and all these units were distributed as instructors throughout the military centres, such as Nanking, Canton, etc. The whole force, including a similar corps organized by Tso Tsung-t'ang, scattered over North, North-West, and Mid-China, numbered about 100,000 men, drilled on the European model, and armed with modern breech-loading and muzzle-loading rifles. This was another step towards Westernizing the Chinese military system.

New Army Scheme.

A further step was taken in 1901, after Western arms had taught China another lesson, when, by an imperial decree, the military forces were ordered to be re-organized. The scheme comprised three divisions—campaign, reserve, and police corps. In 1905, at the suggestion of the Army Reorganization Board, the emperor instituted (in place of the obsolete military examination system) training schools for officers of the land forces and a high Military Academy, and preparatory and middle-grade schools in the provinces. The course of instruction lasted five years, and in the Academy included the higher branches of military science. The army itself was to be reorganized so as to comprise an Army Council and General Staff, the active army distributed

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into twenty territorial sections, each having two full divisions together forming one army corps, each division numbering 12,000 or 12,500 men, the forty divisions thus making a total of 480,000 or 500,000 fighting units ; a reserve force ; and army instructors and equipment. This scheme was put into full force by 1910.

The divisions above mentioned each included twelve infantry battalions, one cavalry regiment, three batteries of artillery, and one company of engineers.

Engineers, Sappers, etc.

Under the previous military organizations, there was no body of engineers, sappers and miners were unknown, artillery were taken from the infantry garrisons, mariners drawn from the line, and admirals and captains for the navy from the infantry. The most efficient branch of the cavalry was that which provided postmen and carriers. The peasants of China, however, proved to be ideal sappers, skilled in the use of the spade, cool and apathetic under fire, and constructing neat earth-works in places of the greatest danger. To them were due most of the modern forts, as well as the military roads and canals of the Chih-li province. Says Fisher—

"Their coolness under fire was admirable. At the assault of the Peiho Forts in 1860 they carried the French ladders to the ditch, and, standing in the water up to their necks, supported them with their hands to enable the storming party to cross. It was not usual to take them into action; they, however, bore the dangers of a distant fire with the greatest composure, evincing a strong desire to close with their compatriots, and engage them in mortal combat with their bamboos."

Each province was supposed to have its own navy as well as its own army, but the full complement of ships did not exist, even on paper, for a war vessel could not be created on the spur of the moment in the same way as a regiment of soldiers, by calling in a *posse* of coolies and clothing them for the nonce with military uniforms. What ships existed were mostly sent to the bottom by the French fleet at

The Navy.

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Foochow in the war of 1885. This disaster led to the creation of a Board of Admiralty and the formation of a powerful flotilla, partly organized by Captain Lang, of the British navy. Later on this was formed into two divisions, the Northern and Southern Squadrons, but in 1895 the greater part of the former was sunk or captured by the Japanese, the Southern division remaining in the Yangtzŭ and taking no part in the conflict. Five years later the European allied forces which came to relieve the foreigners besieged in Peking captured and appropriated four destroyers built in 1898–9. Since that time to about 1908, the attempts to restore the navy had resulted in the possession of about sixty-four vessels, consisting of two second-class cruisers of about 4,300 tons, eleven third-class cruisers of from 875 to 2,500 tons, three destroyers of from 350 to 1,000 tons, four river gunboats of from 215 to 412 tons, and thirty-two first-class and twelve second-class torpedo boats, only half of the latter being fit for action.

Arsenals and Dockyards.

There were military arsenals at Tientsin, Shanghai, Nanking, Wuch'ang, Ch'êngtu, and Canton, besides smaller establishments in various centres, and an important naval arsenal and shipbuilding yard at Pagoda Anchorage, nine miles below Foochow, which was for many years under French administration.

Republican Period

Writing in 1901, Professor Parker said—

Sixty-five Years Ago.

"The old Chinese 'army' of fifty years ago was simply a rabble, provided with bags of rice, gay flags, umbrellas, fans, and (quite a secondary matter) rusty guns, gingalls, spears, heavy swords, and (very occasionally) fairly good rifles and cartridges, of a date always behind the times. If there were time and money, hired coolies carried the provision-bags and the arms, while the soldiers carried the umbrellas, opium-pipes, and fans. If matters were urgent, the soldiers carried all. There was never any medical staff, not even bandages, and (if the warrior did not slink away before shooting began) the man hopped off when wounded, to die or recover in the nearest ditch. His pay was always a doubtful quantity, but he did not mind that

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much, so long as he was allowed to plunder the people he was marching to defend. When not on the march, entrenching himself, or trying to 'start' the enemy on a run, he spent his time in smoking, gambling, or prowling after women. Discipline of any kind there was none; but if officers were insulted heads went off in no time: in all other matters officers were disposed to be easy, so long as the men were not too curious about accounts, and were ready to cover the commander's flight when the enemy really 'came on.'"

Causes of Inefficiency.

This inefficient state of things has been ascribed to the deterioration of the Tartar troops and their arrogance in opposing all progress; to their jealousy of the Chinese and fear of their acquiring power; and to the Chinese natural apathy and contempt for all things military. A Chinese proverb says that "good iron is not wrought into nails and good men do not become soldiers." Their peaceful disposition, pre-occupation with agricultural and literary pursuits, and disapproval of non-producers like priests and soldiers, have created a type ill-fitted for aggressive and even defensive warfare; and, where they have recognized the vital importance of the latter, corruption in the shape of the "squeeze" system has been an effectual bar to efficiency, whilst the feudal mind which causes them to regard each province almost as a separate nation has prevented the growth of a truly national patriotic spirit.

Size and Numbers not Everything.

Compared with the picture above given, we might be inclined to say that China now has changed all that. In China to-day one sees khaki-clad, well-equipped regiments drilling everywhere, efficient cavalry, gunnery, aviation, manoeuvres, etc. China has now 800,000 regular troops, and intends to have an immense and efficient army, possibly of 10,000,000 men. She will probably introduce conscription, if an agricultural nation will stand it, which would give her perhaps 50,000,000 reserves to fall back upon. But in the primitive mind size and number are everything, and importance is attached to quantity apart from quality. A mind content

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to rest satisfied with military institutions on the ground that "they that be with us are more than they that be with them," is capable of supposing an elephant to be better than a man because it is bigger. China may get together huge armies, but it will be a long time before she is in a fit state to take part in a war such as that now being carried on in Europe. Armies cost money, and war costs more, and underneath the new uniforms is the same nature as that which was under the rhinoceros-hides of old. Yüan Shih-k'ai, the recently-deceased President, sacrificed two condemned criminals to his regimental drum before starting out on a warlike expedition, which is exactly what the Kin emperors did in the twelfth century. In a war like that now being waged in Europe, the Chinese troops would have been unable to "stick it," and would have "had enough" of it long ago, and would have deserted without being shot, because their leaders would have deserted as quickly or quicker than they. China is threatened with aggression, and resistance to aggression is a duty, both in individual and national life. A well-wisher to China can only hope that the serious effort she is now making to set her house in order will not be frustrated by any lust of gain or cry of peace when there is no peace, and that there will be time to acquire the necessary unselfishness, means, efficiency, and zeal to keep the enemy from her shores and enable her to cultivate the arts of peace and civilization in safety within her own borders.

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CHAPTER VI

ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS

FEUDAL PERIOD

WE saw in the last chapter that the sovereign was not only king or emperor but also head of the executive, commander-in-chief, and high-priest. And we also saw that whilst he remained head of the executive and head of the army, multiplication of duties obliged him to relinquish most of these to subordinate individuals and groups of individuals forming the civil and military administrations. Similarly, we have to observe the differentiation, or partial differentiation, of the ecclesiastical administration.

Compound Sovereignty.

At first often acting as an intermediary with his father on earth, the ruler's eldest son or other relative, naturally becomes in course of time the intermediary with his father who is in heaven. It is only in later stages that priestly functions are performed by functionaries who are not members of the royal family. But where these exist they compete in influence with the priests-royal or usurp their functions altogether. Powerful medicine-men or rainmakers may, and do, commend themselves by one means or another to the people as the more competent or desirable intermediaries between the natural and the supernatural.

Origin of Priesthood.

To get clear ideas as to the rise of ecclesiastical institutions in China, it is necessary to note that the religion of the Chinese was, and is, ancestor-worship, long the only form of religion known to them. In the Later Feudal Period there were Taoism and Confucianism, and, not long after, Buddhism was transplanted from the West. Taoism may have been a form of Buddhism,

The Religion of China.

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and so, like Buddhism, a foreign religion, and Confucianism, though it approved of ancestor-worship and professed agnosticism, was, strictly speaking, not a religion at all. We shall deal with this point more particularly in a later chapter. A survey of ecclesiastical institutions in China, therefore, should include the priesthoods respectively of ancestor-worship, of Taoism as we find it, and of that branch of Indian religion known as Chinese Buddhism.

Ancestor-Worship.

In ancestor-worship pure and simple, each individual, having his own ancestor or ancestors, has also his own deity or deities, whom he worships. Each individual, or at least each father of a family, is his own priest. From the sovereign to the slave there was thus a corresponding hierarchy in the other world receiving homage from their descendants in this world. In these circumstances there would seem to be no room for a separate priesthood.

Where the Priest Came in.

Yet supposing that something went wrong; what then? If an evil spirit kept troubling the family, or if the crops were destroyed, or no rain fell, and there was no response in spite of repeated prayer and sacrifice, how were the offended ancestors to be appeased and good relations re-established? In a primitive community there were always one or more individuals with a reputation for greater skill or influence with the spirit world. If not at hand to offer his services, one could easily be called in to intercede or exorcise for remuneration which would be regarded as trifling compared with the calamities which might be impending. In days when superstition is all-pervading, these men might be so frequently required, especially in cases of death and burial, to keep off evil spirits and select a propitious site for the grave, that they would be able to give up their ordinary occupation and adopt the priesthood as a permanent profession. We find this stage had already been reached in early China. In the oldest literature frequent mention is made of a class of priests and

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priestesses named *wu*, who were regarded as being possessed of special power to induce the spirits of the dead to descend and partake of the offerings made to them ; to foretell future events from information communicated to them by the spirits ; and to expel disease and evil in general. They are found as exorcists in the employ of the ancient rulers when the latter were obliged to expose themselves to the attacks of invisible agents, such as when entering a house where death had recently taken place or attending a funeral. They held in their hands pieces of peach-wood (especially dreaded by ghosts) and bundles of reeds, which were used for sweeping away things of an inauspicious nature. They were employed in an official capacity at funerals, and in these living exorcists we see the origin and prototype of the (to Western minds) inanimate image of the "Spirit that clears the Way," already referred to when considering Funeral Rites, though living exorcists also continued to be employed in modern times.

In the *Rites of Chou* we find a description of the duties performed by the *wu*—

The Duties of the *Wu*. "The male *wu* offered sacrifices to the invited spirits and induced them to approach, waving long pieces of grass and calling them by their honorific names. In winter (when evil spirits predominated) they expelled bad influences from the halls, without taking into account the number of spirits or the distance at which they might be. In spring they appealed to the loving-kindness of the superior spirits to ward off diseases. And when the sovereign went to pay a visit of condolence they walked in front of him in company with the Invokers. The female *wu* performed exorcism at the different seasons of the year, sprinkling purifying perfumed water. In times of drought or great heat, they performed dances in order to induce rain (or during the sacrifices for rain). When the sovereign's consort went to pay a visit of condolence they walked in front of her in company with the female Invokers. And at every great calamity in the kingdom they entreated the gods, chanting and wailing."

There were, moreover, heads or chiefs of the *wu*, who acted as directors, taking the lead, for example, and guiding them in the dances for rain. On occasions of sacrifice they

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provided the boxes with the soul-tablets, the druggets for the roads, and the boxes with the straw mats. At sacrifices generally they saw to the safe burial of the offerings, and at funeral ceremonies had charge of the exorcist rites by which the soul was made to descend.

The *wu* were thus a class of dancing and chanting exorcists, sorcerers and medicine-men, fulfilling the functions of a primitive priesthood. We shall see that they gradually acquired a powerful influence. Though they existed as a separate class, they were also at times employed as emporary or permanent officials, but of the lowest category, and were held in but slight estimation. Ecclesiastical functions were, however, not completely differentiated. Whilst employing these specialists as occasion required, the members of the social aggregate, from the sovereign to the slave, continued to be their own priests. The ruler was still high-priest, and his officers also combined executive and ecclesiastical functions. We have the *pontifex maximus* and a hierarchy of priests composed of nobles, statesmen, and civil and military officers. There was thus in addition to, and separate from, the *wu* priesthood, a regular, though undifferentiated, State priesthood. In treating later on of Ideas, we shall see that the religions to which these two priesthoods belonged were in reality one, namely, ancestor-worship. The king alone had the right to sacrifice to the Supreme Lord of Heaven, to Earth, and to his imperial ancestors. Whilst some of the priest-officials assisted the king in these duties, they also had their specially-assigned deities to whom to make their prayers and sacrifices. We read in the *Tso Chuan*, the commentary on the Confucian *Annals*, that the heir-apparent had charge of the chief sacrifice and the rice vessels for sacrificing to the gods of the land and grain. The Minister of Religion was the Arranger or Superintendent of the Ancestral Temple, and his duties included the erection and preservation of the temples and

Two Priesthoods of one Religion.

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altars of the state, and the mausolea of the reigning family, the celebration of sacrifices with dancing and music, supervision of the royal funeral rites, as well as divination, etc., and the numerous duties already noticed when referring to him as a member of the civil administration.

Taoism not yet a Religion.

Taoism, mentioned above as one of the religions of China, existed before it was systematized and developed by Lao Tzŭ, its reputed founder; but during the whole of the Feudal Periods it did not grow into a religion. Nor can Buddhism rightly be said to have been established as a religion in China before its official introduction soon after the Christian era. Confucianism, we saw, was not a separate religion at all. It is true that we read of a temple to Confucius and of sacrifices being offered to him as early as 478 B.C., the year after the great sage's death; and eventually a temple was ordered to be erected to him in every prefecture, sub-prefecture, district, and market-town, but this does not mean that there was then a religion, much less a priesthood, of Confucianism (which was a code of politico-ethical principles). It was merely a part of the prevailing ancestor-worship—an offering to the spirit of him who was the "Greatest Teacher" and the "Most Perfect Sage," and later on also to the spirits of the pantheon made up of his disciples and followers. Consequently, the absence of priesthoods coinciding with the absence of religions (for though there may be a religion without a priesthood, there cannot be a priesthood without a religion), and there being in the Feudal Periods only one religion, that of ancestor-worship, we see that the two priesthoods named were priesthoods of this one religion, or were one priesthood which took the two forms, principal and accessory, already noted. In this state (which, as it did not, of course, constitute a differentiated and organized profession, may best be called the family priesthood), every man was his own priest, the king, as high-priest, being

The Priesthoods of Ancestor-Worship.

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assisted by a hierarchy comprising in its farthest ramifications all the principal administrative officials of the country (the undifferentiated state or political priesthood, which may best be distinguished as the politico-ecclesiastical priesthood or agency), and *wu*-ism. Otherwise put, we may say that we thus have the principal priesthood of ancestor-worship, composed of two parts—political or public and family or private—and the accessory priesthood of the *wu*. It should, however, be pointed out that, though the former, not being a separately organized institution, would not be regarded as a priesthood in the Western sense of the term, they may rightly be so described in so far as they were agents for the carrying on of worship.

We shall deal in the next section with the priesthoods of the other religions which grew up or gained a foothold in China; but it may be as well to indicate here briefly the reasons why the Chinese have never been dominated by any of these bodies. We shall see that, during part of the Monarchical Period, the *wu* came near to acquiring a predominant position, and that at various times other priesthoods had immense influence at court; but in the Feudal Periods the *wu* priesthood, the only separate one existing to compete with the political government, though its power fluctuated, did not acquire sufficient influence to make it paramount. This was due first to the existence of a strong personal government, and secondly to the absence of competing apotheosized chiefs. Further, with the growth of Confucianism, which, though insisting on ancestor-worship, would have nothing to do with unorthodox cults, the centralization and strength of the politico-ecclesiastical hierarchy, on the one hand, was greatly promoted, whilst, on the other, the official priestly hierarchy was identified with the political governmental hierarchy and prevented from setting itself up as a rival authority. We thus see that to establish a priesthood of its own would have been a self-contradictory

Why Priesthoods Never Dominated China.

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act on the part of Confucianism. The primary duty of priesthoods, that of the carrying on of worship, was already provided for; and the derived duty in which they take refuge as civilization advances and superstition declines, that of inculcating ethical principles, had been forestalled by the classical teaching of Confucius and other sages. The cultivated class as it existed was also all the more powerful because it included the influential *shên shih*, or gentry. Furthermore, beyond the general truth that as societies develop industrialism the spiritual power is subordinated to the temporal power, we may note that the estimation in which the producer was held caused non-producers to be correspondingly disparaged, and the priest, like the soldier, belonged to the latter category. When we come to the Post-Feudal Periods, we find the same antagonistic factors at work, and they operated also against the new religions then instituted. The *wu*, after attaining to great power by the fourth and fifth centuries, were restricted, excluded from the state religion, and ultimately exterminated in South China, *wu*-ism being made legally punishable with death, though the sect survives to the present day as soothsayers and magicians. Taoism, becoming a religion through the aid of Buddhism, shared in the opposition to that foreign doctrine, and weakened as it degenerated into alchemy, dreamy mysticism, and superstition of the grosser sort. Buddhism, though both it and Taoism were alternately patronized and denounced by the temporal power, laboured under the heavy burden of being an exotic religion, and, contrary to popular belief as to the tolerance of the Chinese for alien doctrines, was periodically persecuted (as was every doctrine which threatened to interfere with state ancestor-worship or to acquire too great political power, which was the same thing) with a rigour and savagery scarcely exceeded by Nero or Domitian. In face of all these obstacles priesthoods in China had little chance of becoming transcendent.

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It remains to notice briefly what the priesthoods did and the places in which they did it. The kings had their ancestral temples in which were the spirit-tablets of seven of their ancestors. Altars were raised, usually upon hills, to the spirits of the land, etc. The Chou kings worshipped in the *Ming T'ang*, or Hall of Ancestors (usually known as the Grand Fane, Hall of Distinction, Hall of Light, or Bright Hall, from covenants made therein being announced to the "bright spirits"), a building which in itself was witness to the compound nature of the sovereignty. Here sages and kings sacrificed to their deceased ancestors, worship was offered to the sun and moon, and on the altar victims were laid on a pyre and burnt. And the *wu* had temples containing gods, worshipped and sacrificed to. Sacrifices took place on many occasions. The chief were those to Heaven, Earth, and Ancestors. Those known as the Border Sacrifices were the greatest religious services of the ancient Chinese. They were offered on the border or in the suburbs of the capital to Heaven, or Heaven and Earth, by the king, and were peculiar to him. Only a single victim was sacrificed, and the offerings of grain and the robes were the products of the king's ploughing and the queen's work in silk. They were the "deepest expression of reverence" and "greatest act of thanksgiving." Sacrifices became more numerous during the Later Feudal Period, when they were distinguished as "great," "medium," and "inferior," offered to Heaven and Earth, the gods of the land, grain, sun, moon, etc., and the spirits of deceased statesmen, scholars, etc., respectively. Human beings were not offered on these occasions. The offerings consisted of animals, silk, grain, jade, etc. Any attempts by the people to join the king in this worship were punished with death. The right to sacrifice to different spirits was graduated according to rank. The lower people of the country districts could sacrifice only to the ground and the secondary spirits. Ceremonies

Sacred Places and Observances.

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were performed in each family similar to those performed in the royal family in honour of ancestors.

The seasonal sacrifices took place in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, those to the Supreme Spirit at the summer and winter solstices, and the empress and several grades of female rank took part in those to the patroness of silk and weaving, which were held in the spring. By means of the sacrifices, "the ancestors of the kings were raised to the position of the Tutelary Spirits of the dynasty; and the ancestors of each family became its Tutelary Spirits." The accompanying ceremonial is thus described by Dr. Legge in the Preface to his translation of the *Book of Odes*—

Seasonal Sacrifices.

"Of the ceremonies at the sacrifices in the royal temple of ancestors, in the first months of the four seasons of the year, we have much information in several odes. They were preceded by fasting and various purifications on the part of the king and the parties who were to assist in the performance of them. There was a great concourse of the feudal princes, and much importance was attached to the presence among them of the representatives of the former dynasties; but the duties of the occasion devolved mainly on the princes of the same surname as the royal House. Libations of fragrant spirits were made, to attract the Spirits, and their presence was invoked by a functionary [the Invoker] who took his place inside the principal gate. The principal victim, a red bull, was killed by the king himself, using for the purpose a knife to the handle of which were attached small bells. With this he laid bare the hair, to show that the animal was of the required colour, inflicted the wound of death, and cut away the fat, which was burned along with southernwood, to increase the incense and fragrance. Other victims were numerous, and II vi V describes all engaged in the service as greatly exhausted with what they had to do, flaying the carcases, boiling the flesh, roasting it, broiling it, arranging it on trays and stands, and setting it forth. Ladies from the harem are present, presiding and assisting; music peals; the cup goes round. The description is as much that of a feast as of a sacrifice; and, in fact, those great seasonal occasions were what we might call grand family re-unions, where the dead and the living met, eating and drinking together, where the living worshipped the dead, and the dead blessed the living."

Importance was attached in these ceremonies to the

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representation of departed ancestors by living individuals of the same surname, who were chosen according to certain rules—

Personators of the Dead.

"They took for the time the place of the dead, received the honours which were due to them, and were supposed to be possessed by their Spirits. They ate and drank as those whom they personated would have done; accepted for them the homage rendered by their descendants; communicated their will to the principal in the sacrifice or feast, and pronounced on him and his line their benediction, being assisted in this point by a mediating priest."

Monarchical Period

Whether it be or be not a sustainable argument that the people of Southern are more superstitious than those of Northern China, it would seem that it was in the southern regions that *wu*-ism flourished more particularly, though it existed in all parts of the empire. The sixth emperor of the Western Han dynasty, Wu Ti, engaged a large number from what is now the region of Kuangtung and Kuangsi, then named Yüeh, to exercise their rites on his behalf. The history of the time says that Yung Chih, a man from those parts, said: "The people of Yüeh are believers in the *kuei*, and in their sacrificial services they see them; they often employ them with beneficial results. Formerly the king of Eastern Ou respected the *kuei*, and he lived to be 160 years old; his descendants neglected their worship, and came to ruin and decay." Thereupon the emperor ordered the *wu* from Yüeh to institute invocations and sacrifices as they were practised in that region, and had a terrace prepared for that purpose, but without an altar, instructing them also to offer sacrifice to the celestial deities and the emperor on high, as well as to all the *kuei*, and to practise divination by means of cocks (*i.e.*, by interpretation of the marks on the bones of the cooked bird). The emperor had faith in these *wu*, and thus the Yüeh sacrificial rites with the cock-divination were introduced. Thus imperially sanctioned, and aided in various other ways, *wu*-ism attained to great influence, and seems,

Wu-ism the Priesthood Proper.

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for some time at least, to have practically supplanted the state hierarchy as the priesthood proper of the empire. It is to be noticed that this waxing influence largely coincided with the waning in the popularity of Confucianism during those periods when the latter was partially or temporarily eclipsed in imperial favour by the new religion of Buddhism. But, however great their influence, the *wu* were from first to last debarred from actually presenting the offerings at the state sacrifices. The state hierarchy, weak though it may have been at the beginning compared with its subsequent omnipotence, and weakening though it did periodically under one influence or another, seems always to have retained sufficient power to prevent both the government and the people from being priest-ridden by the *wu*; and occasionally this heterodoxy with its false priests was cruelly persecuted, receiving in the Sung dynasty, the period of Confucian and other philosophy, literature, and art, the staggering blow of being exterminated in its home south of the Yang Tzŭ River, until, in the Ming dynasty, which "excelled in the purity of its Confucianism," those who practised *wu*-ism were liable to be strangled. But superstition dies hard, and *wu*-ism is not even now extinct. The *wu* survive in the *shih kung*, or "masters," *scilicet* of magic, who form a priesthood, practically hereditary, unofficial, entered by initiation preceded by fast or vigil, and including the climbing of a ladder of swords. They are skilled in sacrificing, the celebration of rites, and exorcism, using altars, and, when performing their rites, dressed in the full sacerdotal vestments of their craft. They are obliged by the government to register themselves, are kept under strict control, and forbidden to adopt more than one pupil to succeed them in their profession. They preferred to call themselves "Taoist doctors," and, in fact, the spirits exploited by *wu*-ism being Taoist gods and ghosts, the two became assimilated, and (when Taoism was forced, through the competition of Buddhist monasticism and the Confucianist opposition to asceticism to discard

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its doctrine of cenobitic discipline, physical and mental, as a pre-essential to oneness with the Tao) ended in being identical.

The Priesthood of Taoism.

Taoism, before the Christian era, being a code of ethico-metaphysical speculations intended as a guide, through quiescence, contemplation, and union with Tao, to the achievement of virtue, and not being a religion had no priesthood. Whether through sympathy or rivalry, it was owing to the advent of Buddhism in China that Taoism put on the garment of ecclesiasticism. It was only from the first century of the Christian era that Taoism began to possess images, temples, monasteries, and nunneries. Taoist recluses there were in great numbers, and also concourses of disciples, and it was through the dwelling together of these votaries in religious fraternities, which coincided with the introduction of Buddhism, that the Taoist priesthood was born. But, unlike Taoism, Buddhism as a religion was not young and inexperienced. It came to China full-grown and fully-equipped. Its creative stage had long been passed and it was conscious of its ecclesiastical maturity and strength. It was by Buddhism rather than by Taoism that the void felt to exist, both in the state system and the chanting and dancing of the *wu*, was to be filled. Taoist monasticism was thus rendered largely superfluous, and its subsequent history shows that its convents and nunneries have always been far less numerous than those of the Buddhists. By deifying its saints, Taoism enriched the pantheon of China with numbers of new divinities, and its communities of votaries became a disciplined church, whose priests—physicians and exorcists—performed magical religious ceremonies, though they might not even preach or teach their doctrines, which were supposed to manifest themselves spontaneously in the true follower of the right Path. But it was never strong enough, in spite of the adoption of its terrifying purgatory, to supplant Buddhism in the Chinese mind as *the* road to salvation, and never permanently

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rose above the fumes of its alchemy, spiritualism, concoctions of the *elixir vitae* and pills of immortality into the purer atmosphere of an elevating religion.

As Taoism could not supplant Buddhism, so also Buddhism could not supplant Confucianism. We saw in a former chapter that the failure of a candidate to pass a literary examination led to the loss of millions of lives; here we have to note that a dream resulted in innumerable sanguinary persecutions. It was owing to a dream of the Emperor Ming Ti of the Han dynasty that Mahayana Buddhism was officially introduced into China in A.D. 67. It being then already mature, we have not to consider its ecclesiastical birth and growth, but only its grafting on to the Chinese religious system, and the results which sprang therefrom. The first Buddhist priests who had arrived 300 years before had been imprisoned, but those who arrived in response to Ming Ti's invitation were received with every mark of favour, and urged to begin the propagation of their religion without delay. The consequence was that the new doctrine soon took firm root, and Buddhist temples and monasteries were built in all parts of the empire.

Buddhism Welcomed and Persecuted.

At first the Chinese were not allowed to become priests, yet this rule was subsequently abrogated and even some emperors became Buddhists, but it was periodically re-enforced, according as the doctrine was in favour or otherwise. To become a monk, a solemn vow was taken to live a life of sanctity in obedience to the commandments, which were: Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not commit adultery, Do not lie, and Do not drink spirits. On being admitted as acolytes, they undertook to renounce the world and to keep, in addition to these five commandments, five others, namely: Abstain from perfumes and flowers, from chanting and dancing, from using large beds, from having meals at regular hours, and from precious things. They then received the tonsure

How to Become a Priest.

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and the "garment of poverty," being a few days later ordained as ascetic monks. At this ordination they took a vow to keep the 250 monastic rules, and each received an alms-dish. Further ordinations raised them to higher degrees, and were accompanied by ceremonial purifications from sin, as singeing of the head by means of pieces of charcoal placed on the shaven scalp. They finally passed through a state of repentance and solemn determination to live according to the commandments, and this final ordination constituted them bodhisattwas, on the way to buddhaship. The beauty and purity of the doctrines which these priests vowed, and in so many cases miserably failed to fulfil, need not be enlarged upon here; but it must be pointed out that, in persecuting Buddhism, Confucianism has, in so far, counteracted in China the effects of the humanizing tendencies of a doctrine which has been described as the "mightiest instrument for the amelioration of customs and the mitigation of cruelty in Asia," and must consequently, in part at least, be held responsible for the callous cruelty which has always formed, and still forms, one of the most regrettable, uncivilized, and sympathy-alienating traits in the Chinese character.

Priests and Temples.

The Buddhist priesthood was recruited by men from all classes of society. The great majority, however, were from the lower ranks of the people, uneducated, and wanting in earnestness in the discharge of their religious duties. Their morality, at least in later times, was of a low order, and in some cases the temples were regarded as sanctuaries for transgressors of the law, or used as haunts by gamblers. The temples themselves, consisting of a series of halls and courts, were usually of picturesque architecture, some of the monasteries being amongst the finest buildings in China. There were no cave-temples, though many caves had been turned into temples. On entering a Buddhist temple, after passing two large figures, one on each side, called Guardians of the Gate,

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LAMA TEMPLE OF THE FIVE PAGODAS

To face p. 200

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there were seen four colossal statues of the Four Great Kings who were supposed to govern the continents north, east, south, and west of Mount Sumeru, the centre of the world, and bestow happiness upon those who honour Buddha, the Law, and the Priesthood. They had black, blue, red, and white faces, and held respectively a sword, a guitar, an umbrella, and a snake in their hands. Opposite the door was a shrine containing an image of Maitreya Buddha—the *Mi-li Fo*, or Buddha-to-Come—the Merciful One, portly and of merry countenance ; and images of Kuan Ti, the God of War, and of Wei To, a general of the Four Kings and a "Deva who protected the religion of Buddha," arrayed in armour and holding a sceptre-shaped weapon of assault. In the next great hall was the lofty gilded image of Shaky-amuni sitting on a lotus-leaf throne in an attitude of contemplation, with smaller figures of Ananda and Kashiapa on his right and left, and on the east and west sides of the hall statues of the Eighteen Lohans or Arhans, deified propagandists of the faith in China. Behind these was the image of Kuan Yin, the popular Goddess of Mercy, in one or other of the many forms corresponding to the various metamorphoses which she or he assumed. In large temples was a hall containing images of the Five Hundred Arhans. There were also images of Buddha's disciples, and numerous local deities or sages, with representations of the horrible torments of hell. The temples had guest-chambers, refectories, libraries and rooms for study, and cloisters, arranged to suit the size or needs of the fraternity.

Persecutions of Buddhism.

Buddhism, as we saw, made rapid advancement in China. By the middle of the fifth century its progress had been so marked that neighbouring kingdoms sent sympathetic, congratulatory, and adulatory messages by the hands of ambassadors to the Chinese emperor. One of these, the King of Jebabada, in a letter to Wên Ti of the Liu Sung dynasty, heaps eulogies upon that emperor—

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"He had given rest to the inhabitants of heaven and earth, subjected the four demons, attained the state of perfect perception, caused the wheel of the honoured law to revolve, saved multitudes of living beings, and by the renovating power of the Buddhist religion brought them into the happiness of the Nirvana. Relics of Buddha were widely spread—numberless pagodas erected. All the treasures of the religion (Buddha, the Law, and the Priesthood) were as beautiful in appearance, and firm in their foundations as the Sumeru mountain. The diffusion of the sacred books and the law of Buddha was like the bright shining of the sun, and the assembly of priests, pure in their lives, was like the marshalled constellations of heaven. The royal palaces and walls were like those of the Tauli heaven."

But this happy state of things was not to last long. In the annals of the same dynasty, after allusions to the flourishing state of Buddhism in the countries from which the embassies continued to be sent and in China itself, the compiler introduces a memorial from a magistrate representing the disorders which had sprung from the widespread influence of that religion, and recommending imperial interference. This document, according to Edkins (*Chinese Buddhism*, p. 94), set forth that—

"Buddhism had during four dynasties been multiplying its images and sacred edifices. Pagodas and temples were upwards of a thousand in number. On entering them the visitor's heart was affected, and when he departed he felt desirous to invite others to the practice of piety. Lately, however, these sentiments of reverence had given place to frivolity. Instead of aiming at sincerity and purity of life, gaudy finery and mutual jealousies prevailed. While many new temples were erected for the sake of display, in the most splendid manner, no one thought of rebuilding the old ones. Official inquiries should be instituted to prevent further evils, and whoever wished to cast brazen statues should first obtain permission from the authorities."

"A few years afterwards (A.D. 458)," adds Edkins, "a conspiracy was detected in which a chief party was a Buddhist priest. An edict issued on the occasion by the emperor says that among the priests many were men who had fled from justice and taken the monastic vows for safety. They took advantage of their assumed character to contrive new modes of doing mischief. The fresh troubles thus constantly occurring excite the indignation of gods and men. The constituted authorities, it is added, must examine narrowly into the conduct of the monks. Those who are guilty must be put to death. It was afterwards enacted that such monks as would not keep their vows of abstinence and self-denial should return to their families and previous occupations. Nuns were also forbidden to enter the palace and converse with the emperor's wives."

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The opposition of the *literati* was soon aroused, and we read of religious controversies, in which much was said on both sides, but the foreign faith could not hold its ground against the wave of orthodox classical opposition which had arisen. Interspersed with periods of relaxation (in one of which Buddhism and Taoism were actually made state religions) we find Buddhism and all unorthodox sects rigorously persecuted, its temples destroyed, and its followers massacred. It was the T'ang dynasty that dealt it a blow from which it never really recovered. Hsüan Tsung (713–56) struck at its root by attacking its conventual life. From that time, moreover, no priest might be consecrated, nor monastery erected, without a certificate from the secular authority. In 845 it was decreed that 4,600 convents and 40,000 religious buildings should be demolished, and that 260,000 monks and nuns should return to secular life. From this time on, Buddhism remained at its lowest ebb. But though despised and rejected it did not die. Its priesthood degenerated, but its promise of salvation, and its humanity—its love and compassion towards all that lives—saved it from extinction.

Confucianism Prevails.

The existence of mosques in Peking, Si-an Fu, Hangchow, Canton, K'ai-fêng Fu, and numerous other cities, indicated the presence of Islâmism and its prophets, though the religion had no differentiated and organized priesthood, and its followers abstained from aggressive propagandism. It is probably due to this latter policy that there have been in China practically no persecutions of Mussulmans on account of their religion or method of living, beyond the religious war of 1781, which led to the issue of stringent decrees against the Moslems and the banishment of the Islamic religious leaders three years later. They had arrived some time during the ninth century A.D., as traders, built their mosques, opened schools, taught Western science, made pilgrimages,

Islâmism.

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printed books, and made converts, who were allowed by the government to exercise their rites without let or hindrance. As they generally refrained from forcing upon the Chinese the principal tenets of their faith that there is no God but [the Mohammedan] God and that idolatry is one of the unforgivable or most heinous of sins, they were left alone spiritually, especially since some portions of their creed were in perfect agreement with Chinese principles. The great Mohammedan rebellions of 1856–72 and 1861–78 were entirely political, arising out of the occupation of Kashgar by China in 1760. The total number of the followers of the Prophet in China was between fifteen and twenty millions, they being most numerous in Yünnan and Kansu. The tolerance of the Chinese government was shown in their being allowed to pass examinations and enter office on the same footing as the Chinese, and generally the religion had undoubtedly taken firm root, going about its propagandism in a quiet, unobtrusive way and exerting a steady influence for good on the Chinese moral character. Indeed, the practising of the precept of Resignation (Islâm) seemed to have a more progressive and lasting effect than the activity of more aggressive proselytism.

Christianity.

As the mosques indicated the presence in China of the followers of the Prophet, so did cathedrals, churches, chapels, preaching-halls, hospitals, and schools indicate the presence of the followers of Christ. "Every variety of Christianity," it has been said, "has tried its hand at the conversion of China; first the heretical, then the Papal, and finally the sectarian Protestant." As with most other alien religions, Christianity was now favoured, now persecuted. The earliest monumental evidence of its introduction is the stone tablet erected in the eighth century A.D. by the Nestorians near Hsi-an Fu, in Shensi. It bears the date A.D. 781, sixty-four years before the Nestorians were banished from China by the Emperor Wu Tsung of the T'ang dynasty. In the thirteenth and

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fourteenth centuries Catholic missionaries began to arrive, the records of Protestant missionaries dating from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Space does not admit of my giving here a history of Christianity in China. The Catholic Church now claims about a million believers, Protestantism about a quarter of that number. Whether Christianity will ever be adopted as the national religion of China is, of course, an open question. The difficulties it has had to contend with hitherto have been that it was an alien religion, that its *tao-li* (logic) was incomprehensible, and that it discountenanced ancestor-worship. Moreover, the Chinese had noted that Buddhism and Taoism had both failed to arrest the degeneration and decay of their time, and they had observed that not only had Christian nations not always acted in a Christian manner towards China, but that professing Christians in China and elsewhere did not always lead Christian lives. If ancestor-worship, which is to the Chinese what Christianity is to the Christian and more, since it is more woven into the warp and woof of his present and future existence, remains the religion of China, as it seems likely to do for a long while to come, Christianity will certainly not become that religion. In the absence of any large conversions *en masse*, the rate of successful proselytism does not keep pace with the increase in population, and shows no signs of being able to do so in the near future. The probability is that ancestor-worship will remain the religion of China until, by gradual evolution, it merges, as it has largely done in Japan, into Agnosticism, and perhaps all the more rapidly owing to the absence, here as there, of a dominating priesthood. The ecclesiastical system, now partially, will then be completely differentiated. The official priests will occupy themselves solely with official matters. Of the priesthoods of the various religions, some will return to the laity, some, as the propitiatory character of their duties is supplanted by the ethical character, will devote themselves to the exposition and inculcation of

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ethical principles, and some will retain their original function of preventing the minds of those who need such assistance from becoming over-engrossed in material things, by keeping alive the consciousness of the "Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed."

Republican Period

Since the institution of the Republic, national affairs have not settled down sufficiently to permit of much time being devoted to matters spiritual. Of late years, however, there has been a tendency to destroy temples altogether, convert them into schools, or use them for purposes other than those for which they were originally constructed. On this point I may perhaps be allowed to quote from an address on "China and the Perfect State" recently delivered by me in Peking—

Secularization of Temples.

"As religious ideas change, so must the ecclesiastical system be modified; and as religious dogmas lose their hold on the human mind so does the ecclesiastical system become more and more superfluous. Will this process go on until it becomes entirely superfluous? It might be supposed that when men do not feel called upon any longer to gather together and worship or praise a god or gods they believe in no more, the buildings, etc., devoted to these objects should be levelled to the ground and the whole system swept away. I do not think this. I am averse on principle to sweeping things away unless they are positively dangerous or harmful, such as aggressive warfare. I think, as the consciousness of the Absolute must be kept alive in order to prevent life becoming too earthly and material, there will, even in the perfect State, be room for exponents or dilators on these matters, who may appropriately continue to expound or discuss them in the beautiful architectural edifices which religious systems have gradually developed from the original 'church'—the cave in which the dead was buried. Consequently, sweeping these away, or diverting them to other purposes than those indicated, would, in my view, be a wrong step to take. There was a tendency on your part to do this after the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. Many temples were destroyed, others were converted into schools. I myself saw some abominable English school desks and forms in the very holy of holies of the Temple of Heaven. I believe they are still there, at least I know they were about a fortnight ago. I call that sacrilege. . . . Yet the existing temples had each its purpose. They have not all been destroyed or converted into schools. Why not let lectures

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and discourses be held in each temple on the objects and rites peculiar to that temple? Then, as the beliefs change, the discourses will automatically change with them. It will be a gradual evolution rather than a radical change. In the Confucian temples the Confucian doctrines might be expounded, with information relating to the buildings and accessories; in the Taoist temples the history of Lao-tzŭism, its phases and development, and so on. Thus an accessory system of education would be carried on which could not but have an elevating influence in broadening men's minds and letting them understand better what it is they are looking at and how and why it came to be where it is. We should thus have a very valuable contribution to the history of religions. Eventually, when, as I believe, all beliefs and religions will coalesce into one, they could still trace the history of how this came to be; each temple would show its particular line of thought converging to the one and only conclusion, the belief in the Absolute."

This process of thoughtless disintegration has fortunately not as yet gone very far. It was arrested during the abortive monarchical reaction, and has not since been renewed. Ecclesiastical institutions may therefore be said to remain practically as they were during the later part of the period recently terminated. But there is one all-important exception. Confucius, hitherto worshipped, has not been deified, though it is now proposed to make him a god, and, if China decides to adopt a specific national religion, he will probably be *the* god of China. Worship of an extreme kind has long been paid to the spirit of the great sage, and these ceremonies were performed without any lack of elaboration by the late President, and at the same time by all the representative officials in the provinces. "This," said the President in a mandate, "is to show our people the importance the government attaches to truth and morality." Since the President's death the prospects of Confucius's permanent apotheosis have been hanging in the balance. Whereas some advocate Confucianism as the national religion, others allege the recent worship, etc., of the sage were designed to aid the re-establishment of imperialism, and maintain that a Republic grants all its citizens freedom of religious belief. Whilst on the one hand, in August, 1916, a Bill is proposed in the House of Representatives to abolish the worship of Heaven

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and Confucius, instructions are issued only a short while after to make the necessary preparations for the public sacrifice to Confucius, to take place on 7th September in the Temple of Confucius. Sacrificial robes and full uniform with medals and decorations were ordered to be worn by civil and military officials respectively, "the Chief Sacrificial Official and the Assistant Sacrificial Official shall wear dress coats," besides which all officials in attendance at the worship "shall wear their ordinary dress suits." One can imagine Confucius "changing countenance" at the sight of the tight-fitting garments copied from those of the "men who come from afar"!

Professional Institutions

The Professions and the Church.

The professions being the foster-children of the church, where there is little independent development of the ecclesiastical institutions, we should expect to find the professional institutions in a very rudimentary condition. When the ecclesiastical agency acquires a separate standing, and has more leisure to devote to these matters, it takes the professions more particularly under its charge, and ministers to them until they are able to look after themselves. Conversely, where there is little or no differentiation the professions are found still adhering to the organism which gave them birth.

Physicians.

Though he belonged to the mythical period, it is instructive to note that the emperor Shên Nung, whose reign is assigned to the years 2838 to 2698 B.C., besides teaching the people the art of agriculture, taught them also the use of herbs as medicine. Later, when we read that I Yin was the "first to decoct medicine," we note that I Yin was Chief Minister to Ch'êng T'ang, the first sovereign of the Shang dynasty. And in the Chou dynasty, "the official physician had the control and care of the sicknesses and diseases of the people."

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We find, in fact, a regularly-organized official system of medical attendance—not a Socialistic scheme, but one indicating "the benevolent feeling of the former kings for their people." There were the superintendents of the medical officers, who made annual inspections of the staff in order to fix their salaries, and were apparently guided by the percentage of cases successfully treated; and under them the "practitioners in external complaints," who had charge of medicines applied externally, such as plasters; the diet doctors, who dealt with sickness arising from unguarded indulgence in meats and drinks; the directors of the cutting, storing, and distributing of ice, as well as those who saw to the cleaning-out of the ice-houses and to the preparation of the large platters of ice used in cases of death to arrest putrefaction, thus "preserving the people from visitations of untimely death"; those whose duty was to observe the rising and setting of the planet Mars, in order to determine what woods should be used for cooking food at the different seasons; and finally the exorcist, who "wore the bear-skin dress with the four golden eyes." "With dark-coloured garments and red-coloured petticoats in his hand," brandishing a spear and waving a shield, with his 100 attendants, he exorcised the evil diseases of the four seasons, visiting houses from which disease was to be expelled. We have seen that the *wu* were priests, and we here find them functioning as physicians, thus showing the connection above referred to with the politico-ecclesiastical structure.

Free Treatment.

The scheme provided free treatment and medicines for "any of the people," and included veterinary doctors: "practitioners who observed the diseases incidental to animals."

Private Specialists.

But, though the medical profession generally was thus dependent, there was some differentiation. We read of private specialists in children's ailments and ulcers, a joint oculist and aurist, a male midwife, and apothecaries. The practice

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of medicine was one of the hereditary professions, and amongst the rules of propriety we find the sound advice that the physic of a doctor, in whose family medicine has not been practised for three generations, should not be taken.

Musicians and Dancers.

For the regulation of music and dancing we find a similar official hierarchy in existence. The *Chou Li* states that the official directors of music conducted the posture-making which was practised by young boys, and the observances of music, and there were other officials who kept lists of the students with their addresses, and summoned and directed them in their posture-making and practice of musical sounds, the disrespectful being made to drink out of a cup made of horn, and the negligent or lazy being beaten. "Of a truth," says the *Chou Li*, "music instructed the man. How deeply it entered into his heart; and how quickly it transformed him!" There were also special officials in charge of the various kinds of posturing and the different kinds of musical instruments, such as regulators of the barrels, officials in charge of brass instruments, etc. That dancing and singing went together is shown by numerous passages, as, for example, by two lines in the *Book of Poetry*—

> "They sing the *Ya* and the *Nan*,
> Dancing to their flutes without error,—"

the *Ya* and the *Nan* being portions of the *Book of Poetry*. The connection of music and dancing with religious ceremonial is everywhere apparent. In the section dealing with the duties of the chief superintendent of music, in which, with characteristic minuteness, directions are given as to the occasions when the different notes were to be struck, we read that the *wang chung* note was struck, and the *t'ai lü* music played in chanting odes, and the *yün mên* gambols danced when making sacrifices to the celestial gods, and so on, other notes and other gambols being set apart for the terrestrial gods, the spirits of the four quarters, of the hills and rivers, of male and female ancestors, etc. And the

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gods were still further particularized: if the music had six changes in the measure, then did the celestial divinities all descend, and suitable offerings could be made; if eight changes, then did the terrestrial divinities all spring forth, and proper rites could be offered to them; and so on to the end of the category. There was a Board of Music, and national music-teachers existed before 500 B.C. Beyond the official musicians, the chief practitioners of the art seem to have been blind men who, on account of their loss of sight, were supposed to possess a sharpened sense of hearing. Some of these were officially employed, or at least introduced on official occasions, such as the sacrifices in the ancestral temple.

Poets, etc.

Poetry and music are closely related, and in early times the musician and the poet were often identical. In the *Book of History* we read of the patriarch Shun making a song and singing it, whereupon his minister, Kao Yao, did obeisance with his head to the ground and immediately followed his example. A whole chapter in the same classic is devoted to the "Songs of the Five Sons," in which the five brothers (sons of the same mother) of T'ai K'ang, bewail that monarch's evil ways and evil fate. And when, through the slanders of his brothers, the Duke of Chou is suspected of designs upon the young king's throne, he writes a poem called "The Owl," and sends it to the king, but is only eventually exonerated owing to a prayer, which he had deposited in a metal-bound coffer, offering his own life for that of the king's sick father. That the office of poet was closely connected with the politico-ecclesiastical structure is shown by education being practically confined to the first (of the four classes) of the people, namely, the officers or scholars, and the classical *Book of Poetry* furnishes repeated proof that the poet was mostly a king-praiser or a priest intoning a liturgy to him, or to his ancestors after their deaths; the orator being the official who recited in prose, the poet the one whose praise or intercessions took the more elaborate and

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emotional form of rhythm. The special characteristic of this collection of odes is that they, or most of them, were presented by the nobles periodically to the sovereign through national music-masters, so that, even if written by private individuals they would be revised or edited by the officials before being forwarded. But not only do we know that the authors, in many of the limited number of cases in which the authorship has been ascertained, were the dukes and nobles themselves, but, where the subject of the poem or ballad was not directly laudatory or of an intercessionary nature, the poem itself might be expected to give pleasure to the sovereign, or directly or indirectly to benefit him by suggesting advisable reforms, and many undoubtedly fulfilled the avowed purpose of informing the king of the quality of the administration of his vassal rulers. They were thus used to further national unity. The traces of editing are apparent in many of the titles, which introduce royal or princely connections or traditions not to be found in the poems themselves. The politico-ecclesiastical element overshadows the simple and popular meaning. Thus the first short marriage song, praising a modest, retiring, virtuous young lady as fit to be the mate of a prince, is, without sufficient warrant, appropriated to the marriage of King Wên, the virtuous father of the first sovereign of the Chou dynasty. Beyond this class of odes we have the "Lesser Eulogiums," sung at ordinary entertainments presided over by the sovereign; the "Greater Eulogiums," sung on solemn occasions at the gatherings of the feudal lords in the royal court, and the "Sacrificial Odes," chanted at the ancestral sacrifices. These are speaking witnesses to the status of the early poet in China. The professions of orator and poet are thus seen to have reached a very small degree of independence in feudal times, and what independent poets and orators existed would not have formed an organized coherent body. It is unnecessary in a small work to show in detail that the same statement holds true with regard to the actor and the dramatist.

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Having seen how completely China was governed, both in public and private life, by rigid ceremonial regulations, we shall not be surprised to find that there existed professors of ceremony. First there were the official directors of ceremony, otherwise described as the "priests of the Confucian religion," who drew salaries from the royal treasury; but in addition to these there were also professors occasionally employed by the people to assist them on occasions of mourning and sacrifice. They were recompensed by fees or wages, varying according to circumstances, and expected, besides their food, liberal emoluments from rich patrons. They were said to be numerous, influential, and of good standing. Though not legally obligatory, custom made their employment reputable and fashionable in wealthy and literary families. Their occupation as ceremonialists was, however, as a rule, accessory to their usual vocations.

Ceremonialist.

The poet and the musician having lived chiefly to testify to the glory of the joint king and high-priest, the historian was mainly occupied in recording his wonderful achievements, and in literary or clerical work connected with his family, palace, or government. One of the most remarkable points in the history of Chinese civilization is the fact that native historical documents deal almost entirely with the rulers and give little information regarding the ruled; for the reason above given. So identified were the historians with the head rather than the body of the nation, that the independent historian would not have had the necessary materials to carry out the work, even if he had not been regarded as attempting an impertinent and ridiculous task, and science had not made sufficient advance for it to occur to anyone to write a scientific history of the Chinese people. In the early dynasties, the Recorder of the Interior was required to take notes of the edicts and speeches of the sovereign, the Recorder of the Exterior putting into writing the histories

Historians, etc.

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of the various states composing the kingdom. The importance of the Board of Historiographers may be judged from the significance attached to the control of the calendar, the regulation of which was a royal prerogative. "Mencius complained that in his day the feudal princes destroyed ancient records to favour their own usurpations; and in China it seems always to have been peculiarly impossible for any prince to make history who was not also in a position to write it or have it written." One of the earliest signs of the rebellious pretensions of the State of Ch'in, which superseded the House of Chou, was the establishment of a Bureau of Historians to keep the state records. The historiographers were high officials who "were at once statesmen and scholars, wrote books and led armies." They did not form an independent profession. An independent spirit occasionally manifested itself in the interests of the truth, as when in 547 B.C. one historiographer after another in the Ch'i State was put to death by a general who had married the widow of a prince of the ruling house, and was jealous of the attentions paid to her by the reigning marquis, whom he accordingly assassinated. For refusing to make a false entry or to omit the truth concerning this incident, several successive historiographers suffered death, the incident itself and the subsequent murders being nevertheless faithfully recorded. But, though the desire for accuracy and the "sober truth" characterizes Chinese history above that of other Oriental nations, and in so far it consists of something more than eulogies of living or dead rulers, the historians were yet, with few exceptions, part of the governmental structure, and their works were probably quite inaccessible to ordinary mortals, and certainly not published for sale as histories are in the West. The one conspicuous exception was Confucius, who, as a private person, published a brief history of his native State of Lu, usually referred to by the literal translation of its title, *i.e.*, "Spring and Autumn."

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Though little independent development was discernible in the professions hitherto named, the Classical Period produced a brilliant galaxy of philosophers and teachers, who were mostly free from political or ecclesiastical subservience or control. The point to notice is that these (Lao Tzŭ, Mo Ti, Yang Chu, Mencius, Chuang Tzŭ, Hui Tzŭ, Hsün Tzŭ, etc., and their disciples) were not so many independent roots representing a sudden outbreak of professional independence, but that in point of time they all, with the exception of Lao Tzŭ, followed Confucius; and it is a moot question whether, in his absence, they would have philosophized at all. Moreover, they all belonged to the cultured class which was the politico-ecclesiastical class *in esse*, the *shih*, or officers, and the unofficial *literati* who formed the lower division of this class and partook of its nature and duties; some of them, including Lao Tzŭ and Confucius, actually being, for a longer or shorter time, members of the official hierarchy. Nevertheless, we have here some cases of partial or complete independence of professors, though they had not integrated into a profession, and, what is more important, of independence of thought and freedom of speech.

Philosophers, etc.

In what little science there was at this time, we do not find so much advance. During the reign of Yao we find the significant "Board of Astronomy or College of Priests," whose special duty was to "observe the wide heavens, calculate and delineate the movements and appearances of the sun, the moon, the stars, and the zodiacal spaces," in order to regulate the calendar for the people, and so promote agriculture; and in the *Chou Li* it is stated that "for presenting sacrifices there were fixed ceremonies, and the science of astronomy had still more its special officers," each with particular observations assigned to him, from observing the movements of the stars to noting the ten kinds of haloes or vapours gathering round the sun. And amongst the duties

Scientists.

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of the *Pao Shih*, the official instructors in the six polite arts, was the teaching of the nine kinds of arithmetic, one of which was a case of Alligation, as in the following example: There were seventy-eight loaves, and 100 men and boys; each man eats a loaf, and three boys eat one loaf among them; how many men and boys? But there was little real science, and the most of what there was subserved supernatural purposes.

Other Professions.

It is unnecessary to show that the remaining professions, such as those of judge, lawyer, architect, sculptor, painter, etc., where they existed, were still in an undifferentiated state. Enough has been said to show that generally the professions in China originated with the politico-ecclesiastical governmental agency, which was the cultured class as distinguished from the *yü min*, or "stupid people," forming the other three classes of the community, and that they had attained to very little independence of that agency, and to very little, if any, organization and integration amongst themselves. As regards their state in the Post-Feudal Periods, whilst there continued to be official professors of various kinds, the professions of poet, painter, musician, architect, physician, actor, dramatist, historian, teacher, philosopher, etc., had severed their connection with the politico-ecclesiastical structure, but had not reached that stage of advance found in Western countries, where the professions, differentiated from the state and from each other, show integration in examinations, licences, corporations, academies, societies, colleges, festivals, benevolent funds, and periodical literature —advance which has only of recent years been faintly marked among the more progressive sections of the nation.

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CHAPTER VII

SENTIMENTS

Aesthetic Sentiments

Occupied though most of them were with directly life-serving duties, the Chinese nevertheless found time and energy to devote to activities only indirectly concerned with the processes conducive to life. The escape from utilitarianism manifested itself, for example, in a love of flowers amounting to a "mystic affection, a real worship." The azalea, honeysuckle, clematis, and brilliant shrubs covered the rude hills. Good wishes and wise counsels were inscribed on the doors and engraved on the rocks. Romances often dealt with the sentimental meanings of flowers. "Flowery scrolls" were hung on the walls of rooms. Women—even boat-women—wore flowers in their hair, and the latter would have pots of flowers on their boats, merely for ornament, amid scenes entirely commercial. The rich would not even allow the mulberry tree to be planted in their gardens, because it was industrially profitable.

Love of Flowers.

The influence of music was regarded as reaching to heaven and pervading the earth, and even the invisible world of souls and spirits. In it men of the highest virtue and endowments found pleasure, for it had the power of making people good: when it prevailed, all reproaches ceased. Music accompanied not only weddings, but funerals. The Chinese, it has been said, "are born, worship, marry, and die in music." The blind, as already noted, were the professional musicians. Children, hawkers, passers-by sang in the street; bands of troubadours delighted village audiences; and in the evening, after the day's work was done, the sounds of the guitar issued from numerous dwellings.

Music.

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With the love of music there went, of course, appreciation of the beauties of poetry. "Of all nations," says Ampère, "the Chinese seem to be fondest of poetry." So great was this appreciation that, according to the historian, Pan Ku, the sages themselves did not compare with the poets in estimation. The graceful refrains of the classical odes show both a love of nature and an appreciation of the delicate effects of sky and foliage; a feudal prince admired, as did Keats, the beauty of a waving cornfield. The aesthetic sense was apparent in the inscribing of poetry on articles of daily use, as well as in the hanging of rhyming couplets in pairs on the walls of dwellings, and in providing the young with rhymed geographies, histories, and mythologies. The heart of the heroine was won by the hero's poetic skill. The statesman was almost invariably also a poet. A man was hardly considered to be educated unless he could write verses. And improvisation in rhyme was a national amusement.

Poetry.

In horticulture, as in the house, the same keen sense of the beautiful was everywhere displayed. The aesthetic gift was conspicuous in the location of temples, in the beauty of the temples themselves, and in the approaches to them. The paths leading to them were often disposed with much art, winding through groves of pine and bamboo, over beautifully-arched bridges, under decorated *p'ailous*, amid natural scenery of extreme beauty. And inside the house the carved furniture of ebony and rosewood, satin curtains decorated with paintings of scenery or animals, porcelain vases, ornamental carving in the apartments, and trellis-work along the verandahs, tiled walks, marble figures, delicate pencil-work, pictorial scrolls, and artistic writing materials all exhibited an aesthetic sense very far removed from anything primitive or offensive. Pens, paper, ink, and ink-slabs were called the "four precious things." Respect was shown to paper bearing the written character

Aestheticism Generally.

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by carefully collecting and burning it to save it from being trodden under foot. Roof-cornices and exterior ornaments, even of the poorer cottages, showed beautiful curves. The smallest shops would have on the counter a vase with a spray of blossom. Trees were planted in great numbers in villages, towns and cities, and in the case of the nobler buildings, such as the Temple of Heaven at Peking, roof rose upon roof in an ecstasy of aesthetic delight.

Ideas of Female Beauty.

The qualities appreciated in female beauty were not, as in some countries, excess of adipose tissue or the wearing of nose-rings or lip-disks, or the extraction of the front teeth, but, according to the classical index, slender eyebrows, "like the antennae of the silkworm moth," eyes "with the black and white well defined," tapering fingers, slender neck, teeth "like melon seeds," white, rounded temples, black hair, in masses like clouds, tallness, and a countenance "like the flower of the ephemeral hedge-tree." Large feet being unaesthetic, the cramping of the feet of Chinese women for many centuries may even be taken as a sign of an excessive yearning for the beautiful, on the part of the men at least, if not in some degree also on the part of the suffering women.

Want of Cleanliness.

But there is another side to the picture. Pronounced though the love of beauty was, it was not strong enough to ensure cleanliness. Suleyman, the Arab traveller, testified that the Chinese were not particular in this respect, that they rubbed themselves with paper instead of washing (!) did not use toothpicks (!) and ate dead bodies (? of animals), and "other things of the same sort, as do the Magi." Marco Polo described the Chinese as "very cleanly in their persons," basing his opinion on their "love of hot baths," but the evidence of modern times does not now, even if it did then, warrant the inference drawn by the Venetian traveller. It has been said that the Japanese wash their bodies, the

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Chinese their clothes. Generally, the Chinese washed their face and hands with hot water once a day, but were not much addicted to bathing, and preferred to wipe the body with a damp cloth. The extent of the washing depended very largely on the climate. In the north, clothes were added during the winter and perhaps not changed until the spring, with consequences which may easily be imagined. The will to cleanliness may, it is true, have been there, but, as a rule, it was imperfectly carried out in practice, which, moreover, varied with the season and locality. Still less did the will succeed in regard to the environment. "In the metropolis, as in all Chinese cities, the air is constantly polluted by the stench arising from private vessels and public reservoirs . . . and every kind of offal, which is all carefully collected by scavengers. By this means, although the streets are kept clean, they are never sweet." This state of things has only of recent years begun to be effectively remedied.

Aestheticism in Jeopardy.

Arising naturally out of the relaxation of the mind in play after pre-occupation in life-sustaining activities, the aesthetic sentiments, largely fostered by Buddhism, were stimulated by literary ability being made the road to office, wealth, and power. They remain at the present day very much as they have been for centuries past, but the change of view-point lately adopted by China with regard to the rest of the world makes their future development uncertain. Commercialism, becoming more and more rampant in China, is apt to let business trespass on leisure hours, which should properly be occupied by aesthetic pursuits, and to regard the cultivation of beauty as unnecessary. No clearer instance of this tendency could be found than the decline of the custom of posting in conspicuous places classical quotations or historical representations, and the growth of the gaudy foreign advertisement, usually a picture of repulsive women or some other atrocious daub. Cheap commercialism run

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wild is apt to kill art, but to perfect happiness art is indispensable, and China will do well to see that she preserves all that is beautiful, cheerful, and elevating, and casts out all that is repulsive.

Moral Sentiments

Precept and Practice.

The classical writings, as we saw, contain a pleasing picture of the virtue, happiness, and prosperity of the good old days, when morality was so carefully safeguarded that men and women were not even allowed to touch each other's hands. Rulers gave their leisure to framing moral maxims and schemes of government based on the purest ethics. All questions were decided by moral right and justice. The king was presumed to set an example of industry and right living, discountenancing and punishing indolence and dissoluteness. But the evidence forces us, unfortunately, to conclude that this is but another instance of the gulf which so often exists between precept and practice. In spite of high precepts and some noble examples, the people of the first three dynasties are said to have "exceeded in lewdness." Shameless lust and cruelty brought the first two lines of sovereigns to an untimely end. Under the Shang, a sovereign seeking an honest man as minister could only find one in the person of a common labourer. The warnings and exhortations against "constant dancing in your palaces, and drunken singing in your chambers," "setting your hearts on wealth and women, and abandoning yourselves to wandering about or to hunting," "daring to contemn the words of sages, to resist the royal and upright, putting far from you the aged and virtuous, and being familiar with precocious youths," as well as Wên Wang's lifelong remonstrances against the cruelty and corruption of the age, indicate the existence of vices which must have been regarded as a serious danger to the State. Drunkenness and lust were stigmatized as the worst of a long

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list, which included wanton cruelty in warfare, cannibalism, and excess in hunting, music, and luxurious dwellings.

With the issue of the great classical scriptures we might expect to see a change. Their tone was throughout moral.

Moral Character of the Classics.

The high principles contained in them formed the basis of the law. They posited and believed in moral sense inherent in all men. They enjoined family affection, reverence for age, kindness to strangers, forbearance, pity for the destitute, consideration for the sick. They denounced oppressive government, unnecessary killing, cruelty, growth of pride, indulgence of desires, gratification of the will, excess of pleasure, and deceit, while preaching righteousness, self-consecration, good faith, sincerity and guilelessness as necessary to unite the people to the ruler. They advocated honesty in official administration and friendly relations with neighbouring states. And they contained no hint of indecency. "In the *Book of Poetry*," said Confucius, "there are three hundred pieces, but the design of them all may be embraced in one sentence—Have no depraved thoughts." This, for these early times, was very good morality, and though it fell short of the ideal in several respects, such as the inculcation of revenge, and though, as is the case in more advanced societies (and perhaps must be to ensure progress), precept ran ahead of practice, the early Chinese sages must be given due credit for the creation of a very fine body of maxims, and for having done what they could to guide the nation to a higher moral state.

I said that these high ethical principles would lead us to expect a change, and the change came, though not markedly perceptible at that time. The Classics required a longer period to do their work. Perhaps for a long while they checked further backsliding on the part of the nation rather than effected any positive advance in morality. This view is supported by the condition of things towards the end of the

Their Effect not Immediate.

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Later Feudal Period. In fact, it is probable that the exalted precepts of the time were directed against the growing immorality. Prostitution and unnatural crime were common. There are frequent allusions to the continued prevalence of drunkenness, the killing of sons by their fathers, the debauchery of men, and the immodesty of women.

Morality in Post-Feudal Times.

With the suppression of the leaven "making for righteousness" practice had still less chance than before of catching up precepts whose influence must have been extinguished, temporarily at least, through the outbreak of fierce hostility on the part of the "First Emperor." At the beginning of the Monarchical Period, officials were corrupt, luxury spread, there were, as before and afterwards, instances of cannibalism ("to eat the flesh and sleep in the skin" of an enemy is a colloquial phrase referring to an achievement which would be regarded as admirable), and the severe laws against scandal indicated its prevalence. In the Period of Disruption following the close of the Han *régime*, morality seems to have been in an even worse plight. Men were generally given to adultery, but the women "even more so. Before the night of her marriage a woman bade farewell to her adulterers. The husband esteemed her more if they had been numerous"; but adultery after marriage was legally punishable. Revenge continued to be regarded as a duty; it was taken even on the dead.

Compensating Virtues.

The description of vices is apt to give an incorrect impression of the real state of morality, unless attention is also called to counterbalancing virtues. One of the most serious vices of the Chinese in early times, that of drunkenness, apparently became rarer after the introduction of the tea-plant in the third or fourth century A.D. And numerous instances occur of the condemnation of unchastity, the discountenancing of extravagance, philanthropy towards the poor, leniency towards prisoners, bravery, the exercise of fraternity, suffering

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hunger for the sake of parents, sacrificing a son to save the life of a brother's son, etc. In the Mongol Period the position of women, which some philosophers regard as a test of moral progress, is said to have been higher than before, but until within recent years the degree of civilization according to this criterion was not marked. Women were treated with respect, but were secluded, and occupied a social position far inferior to that of men.

Morality under the Manchus.

Chinese literature has always enjoined moral conduct, and public opinion has been on the side of morality. Both literature and art were free from immoral suggestions. This fact, and the making of the literature, and consequently of the moral sentiments contained in it, the key to those positions which all coveted, must have helped to maintain a high moral tone in the nation during the long course of its development. Consequently in the period which has come under the direct observation of Western students, we find, on the whole, a moral character which, though in many respects leaving much to be desired, compared with that prevalent among other Asiatic peoples on the one hand, and Western nations on the other, cannot rightly be described as of a low kind, especially when we consider how little precept is put into practice, even by the most advanced races. The Chinese are addicted to and tolerant towards vice, and vice is everywhere prevalent, but there is no vulgarity. No women of loose character offer themselves for hire on the streets. Nor is there any coquetry in public. And at social gatherings women are always adequately clothed. There are no dances and consequently no behaviour of a questionable character at them, which has caused dancing as carried on in the West to be regarded by the Chinese as indicating absence of self-control or merely as a cover for flirtation. As I recently wrote—

"The nature of dancing was understood by very few. 'Jumping to [the tune of] a piano' was attributed to other than aesthetic motives. The Chinese observed the foreigners eat a huge meal and

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drink large quantities of wine. After that they began to 'jump to the piano.' Why should the uncouth foreigner, with his half-dressed women, do this extraordinary thing? The obvious interpretation was that the foreigner was intoxicated. How else could it be possible for any man in his senses to put his arm round the waist of a lady he had known for only a few minutes and jump round the room with her?"

Chinese Cruelty.

The customs of marrying young and of concubinage have doubtless helped to give the Chinese character a reputation for morality it might otherwise not possess. Immorality may not be conspicuous, but it exists, and, what is more important, the general attitude towards it is one of indifference or even indulgence, certainly not of indignation. The moral sense is weak. It may be partly or wholly due to this fact that the Chinese remain cruel. Want of sympathy is undoubtedly a national characteristic. The callousness shown to the isolated or unprotected, to anyone in difficulties, to the injured or dying, must have frequently forced itself upon the attention of most foreign residents in that country. If anyone fell down in the street, the impulse of the native was not to hurry towards him to see if he could help him, but to hurry away from him lest he be implicated in his death. I have seen a poor woman selling firewood from a sampan in the broad river at Canton, and, when her sampan was overturned by the wash of a passing steamer, the native boats in the vicinity rapidly paddled to the spot, not to save the woman, but to steal the firewood. To save the woman's life, they said, would have put them in the bad books of the water-god, who would then have punished them for depriving him of his victim by seizing them in her stead. Not so very long ago, it was brought to the notice of a Viceroy that proof of a condemned criminal's innocence had been discovered. "Decapitate him, nevertheless," said the Viceroy, "it is his fate." This Viceroy must have been able to recite the Classics by heart, but that did not prevent him from acting on a precept not to be found therein. It has

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been written that nowhere is life held more sacred than in China, but this statement would only be true if by life is meant the life of oneself or one's relatives, and even then it could hardly be regarded as completely true unless the proneness to suicide is overlooked. Evidence of this could easily be multiplied did space permit, but one quotation must suffice: "The waste of human life in China is terrible," wrote a resident in Wusüeh, only a few years ago. "In this part people seem to commit suicide without the least compunction." A people who regard the next life as but a continuation of this one do not attach a high value to it when "things are bad." During thirty years' residence in China I have seen so many cases of ghastly cruelty that it seems hopeless to expect any great amelioration within a reasonable time, and, when one realizes that this must have gone on for many hundreds or even thousands of years, the sum total of cruelty makes the mind reel. It would be superfluous to adduce instances in view of the testimony of the great body of reliable authorities, no one of whom, as far as I know, contests the proposition that the Chinese are cruel. As the mere lip-repetition of the exhortation to "love your neighbour as yourself" does not prevent Christians from fighting with and slaying each other, so also the learning by heart of the Confucian Classics has not obviated the disclosure of the true mind of the Chinese when circumstances have been such as to prove what its nature really was. In 1900, the "Boxer" year, Christian converts were bound and left in their burning houses because they differed from their fellow-countrymen in opinion or belief, and others, foreign and native, were nailed to doors and disembowelled in front of their wives and children, who were afterwards treated in the same manner. That is not civilization. In a civilized state, people will be able to disagree on important matters, even religion and politics, without shooting away each other's faces. The sentiment of revenge in the Chinese character shows no signs of becoming

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modified, and being deeply ingrained is likely to take long to eradicate.

Untruthfulness is not considered by the Chinese as a sin, but as a matter of the play of wits. Being detected in a lie does not produce in the Chinese a blush of shame, but merely silence, a stolid adhesion to the original statement, or an attempt at explanation which usually adds a second lie to the first. Perversions of the truth are resorted to in order to avoid the consequences of laziness or neglect, or for pecuniary gain, however small. Allied to untruthfulness is thieving, which is also partly viewed as a kind of mental gymnastics. The most common example is the "squeezing" on household accounts. A servant almost invariably will, over and above his wages, take a commission on all food and other articles purchased for his master. If the latter takes the trouble to check or stop this, the servant will certainly find some other way of making this extra "squeeze," and if ultimately so far cornered that it is no longer worth his while to carry on the game, he quietly retires and begins the same thing over again at some other establishment. Most foreigners therefore submit to a certain amount of "squeeze" in order to save themselves the inconvenience of constant change of domestics. But never on any account does it occur to the Chinese servant that he has been doing a wrong thing. The "wrongness" is only apparent in his want of dexterity in not winning the game.

Lying and Thieving.

Several other unpleasant matters might be dwelt upon, but the harsher traits must be touched with some softer hues in order to make the picture a true representation of the Chinese moral sentiments. The first of these is the temperance of the Chinese. We saw above that they were not always temperate, and that the change was probably largely due to the introduction of tea in place of spirits as the ordinary stimulant, frugality operating as a

Sobriety, Industry, and Mercantile Honour.

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contributory cause; for tea could always be procured at less cost. Drunkenness is now so rare that it certainly cannot be classed as a Chinese vice. Nor can it be charged to the Chinese that they are given to over-indulgence in eating. Opium-smoking did a great deal of harm whilst it lasted, but perhaps not nearly so much as alcohol would have done. Its evils were rather of a passive kind, that is, drunkenness makes people aggressive, opium makes them lackadaisical and poetical. But its subtle poison, if taken in excess, undermines the constitution. Since its use has been prohibited, there has been a marked increase in the demand for wines and spirits, foreign tobacco, and morphia. Possibly the too rapid suppression of one evil will be found to have given birth to several others. Besides general temperance, the moral traits of the Chinese include a very high sense of mercantile honour and great industry. These are so well known and universally recognized that they need not be enlarged upon. The sad part of the matter is that the former is said to have been declining of late years.

Want of Public Spirit.

To form a satisfactory general judgment of a character containing so many contradictory traits is not easy. The outcome of the environment, of agricultural pursuits, of national isolation, of the governmental system, of the relative absence of a large amount of ecclesiasticism and militarism, it may rightly be judged in relation to these, its foster-parents; and so judged, we find it rigid and not of the plastic type easily adaptable to changing circumstances, and content to remain so, whilst yet the circumstances are such that they render some change desirable. As a family living only in its own house and not associating with its neighbours would have to adapt its code to a different environment on mixing with the world in general, so China, forced into the whirl of modern "progress," will have to re-adapt her ethical code in many respects if she is to hold her own in the struggle for existence and supremacy with her rivals, and

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make further progress. This she is to some extent endeavouring to do, but change of conduct in nations implies some change of nature, and rigid natures cannot be changed rapidly. We saw in the first chapter that this nature includes weakness of the feelings prompting to effort and leading to improvement, as well as deficiency in conceptions of distant results. The problem is, can the change be sufficiently rapid to make it effective? The rigid nations of history, not being able to mould themselves to their environment, were broken up and absorbed or partitioned. China may yet prove the exception to the rule. But to make sure that she can escape the action of so inexorable a law, it will be necessary for the nation to become united and for rulers to be willing to sacrifice personal interests for the public welfare. The signs of any such rapid regeneration are at present wanting, or too few and weak to be considered as the will of the nation being put into action. Practice may commonly lag behind precept, but it may lag so far behind as to constitute a situation of danger. Besides abstract principles and general considerations, a concrete fact such as that the arrival of the members of the newly-summoned Chinese Parliament, and the decision to pay them at the rate of about £50 a month, coincided with an enormous increase in the number of prostitutes in the capital, makes one almost despair of any sufficiently rapid change.

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CHAPTER VIII

IDEAS

Religious Ideas—Feudal Period

The subject of Chinese religion may, I think, be presented in a much simpler manner than has hitherto been done.

What Chinese Religion is.

Writers on China usually state that the religions of China are Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, and, after dissertations on these, add chapters or sections on ancestor-worship, the soul, the official cult, private religion, superstitions, nature-worship, cosmology, demonolatry, Shamanism, Mohammedanism, etc. The simple truth, however, is that the religion of China is ancestor-worship with its derivatives, native or foreign, primitive or evolved. These derivatives, besides nature-worship, animal-worship, etc., are the native Taoism (after it became a religion), the imported Buddhism, and the other exotic religions. "What then, of Confucianism?" it will be asked. The answer is that the term Confucianism designates two different things. To represent the case correctly a distinction must be made between Confucianism as revealed in the writings of Confucius, contained in the Chinese classics, and the worship of Confucius himself and his disciples. The former, which was the foundation of the state religion, is a code of ethics largely agnostic in character, though sanctioning ancestor-worship; the latter is ancestor-worship itself. My task in this chapter is to substantiate the above statements and to state briefly the main features of the several religions and the various phases they have undergone.

To avoid misconception, it is necessary, before going further, to point out that, though the term ancestor-worship

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means the worship by living persons of their own ancestors, in the philosophy of religions it is also used as including all worship of the dead, whether of the same blood as the worshipper or not. It is necessary, moreover, to note that animism is a later belief than the primordial belief in the double, second-self, or ghost, from which it is derived. And, in order to avoid a further misunderstanding, it must be added that one of the characteristics of religions is that, whilst they deal with the supernatural, they almost invariably attempt to explain the origin of the natural universe. Hence cosmology is included in the treatment of each religion which makes that attempt, non-religious cosmologies belonging to the domain of science or philosophy.

Some Caveats.

In the earliest times none of the "three religions of China" existed. Taoism had not arisen, Confucius was unborn, Buddhism had not been introduced. Religion consisted in the belief in and worship of the souls or spirits of the dead, this belief having its origin in dreams and shadows, and this worship in the fear that, if not propitiated, the dead would in one way or another bring evil upon the living. The soul was at first regarded as single, and as abiding with the body after death. The real nature of death was not, however, recognized, since it was believed then, as now, that the spirit could re-enter the body and cause it to revive. This soul was termed *kuei*, ghost, or demon spirit, and was the material soul, having its origin in the earth and returning to the earth on becoming separated from the body. Whilst it resided in and animated the body it was called *p'o*, *umbra*. The *kuei* abode with the buried body in the grave. It was the seed from which grew the whole system of ancestor-worship in China.

The Kuei.

As the reasoning power of the Chinese grew, more developed ideas arose with regard to the nature of the soul. It became double. Dwelling in the human habitation there was now no

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longer, according to this later theory, only the solitary *p'o*, but also the immaterial soul or *shên*, coming from on high, and when active in the living human body known as *ch'i*, "breath," or *hun*, *anima*. When separated from the body at death, the *hun* lived on as a "bright" spirit, and was called *ming*. In that state it was supposed to return to heaven, or, more generally, to dwell somewhere about the grave, and particularly in the inscribed tombstone. (*P'o*, *ch'i*, *hun*, and *ming* were terms of later origin than *kuei* and *shên*.) These two indwelling souls, the *hun* and the *p'o*, which might be distinguished as "angel-spirits" and "devil-spirits" respectively, were later regarded as *scintillae*, offshoots or permeations of the *yang* and the *yin*, the "male" and "female," the "light" and "dark," principles respectively, by the interaction of which the Universe and all that therein is was produced. The *yang* represented the heavens, light, warmth, productivity, and life, the *yin* the earth, darkness, cold, and death. In man they stood respectively for his intellect and virtues on the one hand, and his passions and vices on the other. The infusion of these souls was birth, their departure, death; the *hun* or *shên* returning to the *yang* or heaven, the *kuei* to the *yin* or earth. But, though these principles are mentioned in the earliest writings, there is nothing to show that this advanced application of them had an origin earlier than the beginning of the Chou dynasty. The belief in the second-self, arising as already stated, was thus prior to the belief in the general permeation by the *yang* and *yin* principles.

The Shên.

These souls, these doubles of the dead, were conscious, and were separately sacrificially worshipped. Worship of the *kuei* preceded that of the *shên*. In this worship of the *kuei* we have, as we saw, the root of ancestor-worship in China. We have now to observe what sprang from that root. Death being universal, everyone, from sovereign to servitor, had

Worship of Disembodied Spirits.

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a *kuei*, and later also a *ming* or *shên*, whom he felt bound to propitiate by worship or sacrifice, since neglect would be liable to bring calamity upon him. Not only was there thus, as it were, a double line representing respectively the living and the parents of the living, who had "passed over" or "gone west" (as the Chinese expressions are), and were propitiated or worshipped by them, but behind the second line there were also further lines of grandparents, great-grandparents, etc., who were also worshipped, until, becoming dim through distance in time and space, the remoter ones were no longer taken into account.

We see here the Chinese directly worshipping their ancestors in human form, but they could not do so indiscriminately.

Ancestor Worship.

The class distinction strictly observed in material matters was as strictly observed in spiritual matters. The sovereign worshipped the spirits of his ancestors who were in heaven, and who ranked first in the spiritual, as he did in the material world. The ruler, as "father" of the nation, could and did worship other spirits as well; in fact, after sacrificing to his own spirits, he further sacrificed to "the host of" or all the spirits. The other ranks worshipped their own spirits—the officials theirs, the people theirs. Owing to this gradation, the lower the rank, the lower was the kind of spirit worshipped, and to worship any but one's own class of spirits would be to worship the ancestors of another family or clan, and so possibly to neglect or even offend one's own ancestors. "For a man," said Confucius, "to sacrifice to a spirit which does not belong to him (*i.e.*, to his own family or clan) is flattery." But, if the rank thus worshipped was much higher than one's own, the act might become one of presumption. The people, for instance, would not have dared to worship the sovereign's ancestors, and had they attempted to do so would have been restrained or even punished. For an artisan or merchant to worship the Supreme Ruler of Heaven would have seemed to the Chinese very much the same as a grocer

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attempting to fulfil the intercessional duties of the Primate in Canterbury Cathedral would to an Englishman.

Religion not Monotheistic.

The point is important, because it has been stated by practically all writers on early Chinese religion that the first stage of that religion was a "monotheistic worship of God," and it is frequently stated to be so still. Now this statement is both incorrect and misleading. To say that the religion of China was a monotheism is to say that the people of China had one God whom they worshipped, whereas the people of China had as many gods as there were people, and more. The fact that the sovereign worshipped the spirit of his ancestor in heaven, the Supreme Ruler of the spirit world, whom the people were not allowed to worship, did not constitute the religion of China a monotheism, for polytheism existed everywhere, and the spiritual Supreme Ruler, though chief of the spirits or gods, was not the sole spirit or god. The simplest way to look at the matter is to recall that the unit in China was not the individual but the family, and each family, including the ruling family, had its near and remoter ancestors whom it worshipped. If it be said, as by some writers, that the people might "in a sense also worship heaven" (though those who make this statement limit the term, not very lucidly, to the "material," "impersonal," or "less personal," heaven) the reply is that the people could not worship the Supreme Ruler in heaven who was the ancestor of the Supreme Ruler on earth, and that, when they worshipped heaven, what they worshipped was the *hun* or *shên* of their respective ancestors which, on their death, had returned to heaven. As "children" of the sovereign it was the duty of all the people to reverence and honour their "father's" ancestor; but it was for the latter that the carrying on of the worship was reserved. How the sovereign and the people came to worship heaven as distinguished from the Supreme Lord of heaven will be shown later. But there is nothing in all this to show that the Chinese religion

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was a monotheism, but very much the reverse—it was a pantheism.

It is also an error to say that the Chinese worshipped or worship "God" without stating at the same time what connotation is to be attached to that term. To say merely that there is or was in China a "monotheistic worship of God" is to leave the impression that the Chinese worship the Christian God, in which case all the propaganda of Christian missionaries would be superfluous. Neither *Shang Ti*, "Supreme Ruler," nor *T'ien*, "Heaven," is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, much less the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost of the New Testament, except that in the history of religions they may all ultimately be traced to the same origin. To argue that they are identical, as several writers, even modern writers, have done, would be much the same as arguing that the Jews and the Chinese were of the same family, or that the Chinese worshipped the ancestors of the Jews; for, apart from the common origin just stated, the mere possession of some similar qualities or attributes does not make them identical. In that case, *T'ien* and *Shang Ti* might be identified with the chief god of many other religions as well. To say simply that the Chinese worship God is misleading. The Chinese, as we have seen, worship each his own god, the ruler his, the official his, the scholar his, the servant his, besides which they all worship certain other gods. But they do not as a nation worship any thing, body, or spirit which can rightly be described as the Christian God, much less do they worship that God to the exclusion of other gods. To use the term God in this connection as it is used by prominent sinologists without definition is merely to create confusion.

Nor a Worship of God.

A theory, held by at least one eminent sinologist, is that the symbol for *t'ien* ( ), heaven, was an early anthropomorphic picture of the Deity (); that in course

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of time the head got flattened to a straight line, so producing the character in its modern form. Also, that native scholars, who had "failed to pick up the real clue," regarded the character as a combination of (—), *one*, and (大), *great*—"the one great thing," instead of "the one great one," or the Deity. I regard this theory as open to several fatal objections. Firstly, I do not think it can be sustained that the anthropomorphic picture of the Deity was the first form of the character for *t'ien*; though it may (and even this is open to question) have been the original symbol for man; it, however, resembles more the original form of the character for "son" ( ) than the one usually supposed to be the original for "man" ( ); secondly, if the picture, given as the original form for *t'ien* by the Rev. F. S. Chalfant and several other writers, being anthropomorphic, is that of a man, there is nothing in it to show that this man was not only in heaven, but the one and only Deity in heaven. Thirdly, if this picture, only afterwards (according to the hypothesis) used for the material heaven, represented the Deity, what character in the meantime represented the heaven in which he dwelt? To suppose that the sky or heaven which daily and nightly forced itself upon the attention of the primitive Chinese as upon that of all other peoples of the earth, should for so many ages have been expressed by no symbol, when more abstract ideas, such as that of Deity, were already being expressed, is altogether incredible. And if this picture of a man meant the Deity, how was the Deity so represented to be distinguished from an ordinary non-deified man, and *vice versâ*? It is true that the gods were man-derived, because derived from the ghosts of men, but it is not true that the Chinese represent God and man by the same character, nor, as will be seen presently, could they ever have done so. Had they wished to represent the Deity they would have chosen a symbol from the category of spirits

Incorrect Theories Regarding T'ien.

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rather than from that of material man, for the latter has nothing whatever in it to indicate spirit or deity, and those for whose information the symbol was invented would have been as much in the dark as before as to the characteristics of the Deity which distinguished it from man. Though the Deity or deities had their origin in the idea of the ghost leaving the body at death, they were not regarded, nor represented, as identical with the living man before the breath had left his body, nor yet with the dead body after the breath had left it. The symbol chosen to represent the Deity would be not the mere reproduction of the figure of a man, but something like "great spirit" or "sole spirit" or "spirit above other spirits," probably *shên*, *hun*, or *ming*, with some accessory symbol specializing it as great or mysterious, or *the* one. That we find no such symbol is an additional proof of the argument here advanced—which contends that the Chinese did not depict the Deity in the sense above implied, because they had no idea of a Deity to depict. If, having such an idea, they had been unable to invent a suitable symbol (which is extremely improbable), rather than merely draw the picture of a man without any addition to show that he was the chief man on high, they would certainly have preferred the original form of some such symbol as that for *shên* to represent the supposed picture of the Deity, or say *tien*, "lightning," a character of aetherial mystery, which is supposed by some to have been the original character for *shên*, "deity."

"The One Great Thing."

Chinese scholars have given no explanation involving any anthropomorphic picture of the Deity, though it could not have failed to suggest itself to them; and their failure to do so must be regarded as further evidence against the "anthropomorphic picture" hypothesis. But, on the other hand, I do not admit the correctness of the less teleological theory advanced by them, that the character means "the one great thing." The Chinese scholars did not allege this character

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to be derived from that for "man," though, so far as I know, they proposed no alternative original symbol. But, in interpreting the character *t'ien* as meaning "great" and "one," they overlooked the fact that originally the symbol for "one" was not written horizontally (—) but vertically (|). Also, why should they want to insist upon "the *one* great thing," when there was before their eyes (and to them quite as great) a thing, namely, the earth, which they regarded as equal to heaven? and why should they depict this "one great thing" by merely saying "great one" or "one great" without giving any clue as to what it was that was "one" and "great"?

Real Origin of "T'ien" and its Worship.

The theory I wish to substitute for the above, is that the alleged "anthropomorphic picture of the Deity" was not the primordial form of the character (天), but that the primitive Chinese depicted what he saw, namely, the *great dome* or *arch*, thus ( ). Probably, as (大) "great," had earlier forms, *e.g.* ( ) and ( ) and ( ), etc., the ideogram would at first have been something like ( ) or () or (). In accordance with the usual tendency towards economy in making written strokes, the "dome" became gradually contracted into the straight line forming the top of the character: () became contracted into (—), and () into (大), making (天). Another old form for (天) somewhat resembling, but not identical with, the alleged "anthropomorphic picture," namely, ( ), represents the "sun" () above, or in conjunction with "great," () or the "sun and greatness," or "the sun in the greatness"—which is also what the Chinese saw—and not the picture of a man at all, which, as shown above, was otherwise represented. Whichever of these was the original form of the character does not affect the argument. The

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primitive Chinese did not intend either the one or the other to be a picture of the Deity or even of a man. He meant it to be a picture of the material heaven or sky. As such he did not worship it. Only later, when it became personified, did it become an object of worship. Now, as every student of philology knows, primitive language is indefinite, and through the imperfections of primitive language some things get mistaken for others. This fact meets us everywhere in the descriptions of primitive races. The Chinese language of to-day is indefinite, and it would be illogical to suppose that it was not more so in the very early times when these notions were forming themselves in the Chinese mind. Consequently it would be inevitable that this material heaven should be mistaken in speech for the spirits which were supposed to reside there. "Heaven" would, as it were, get mixed up in the speech of the primitive Chinese with the disembodied *hun*, *shên*, or *ming*, which had returned to the sky whence they originally came, and heaven itself would thus come to be worshipped. When, even at the present day, a poor widow cries out over her husband's corpse *Wo ti t'ien, wo ti t'ien*, "My Heaven, my Heaven," she is using a term which originally was a cry to the spirit or *shên* of her husband, who, she presumed, had gone to heaven. It is incorrect, therefore, to translate the expression as "My God, my God," without some qualification. It is a cry to Heaven, originating in this presumption. The original meaning would be more "My husband, my husband," or "My lord," or "My master," as in "My lord and master."[1] The widow could no more use to the spirit the form of address used to her husband when alive, than she could call a coffin a *kuan ts'ai* when it contained a corpse. And she could not say "My *shên*, my *shên*," for that would be to confuse her own *shên* with that of her deceased husband.

This theory explains why *Shang Ti*, the chief of the

[1] "Any superior," says the *Erh-Ya*, the ancient dictionary of terms, "is the *t'ien* of his inferior."

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spirits, is subordinate to *T'ien*, and also why the people may, unofficially, sacrifice to *T'ien* though they may not, strictly speaking, sacrifice to *Shang Ti*.[1] *Shang Ti*, the chief of the spirits, dwelt in the material *T'ien*, or heaven; but *T'ien* itself was also personified and worshipped. The former is a sovereign ruling the world from on high; the latter has a more intimate relation with humanity arising out of the idea that it was associated with the place where the spirits of the departed had taken up their abode. Later on, further attributes are ascribed to *Shang Ti*, his position and power increase, he is identified with *T'ien* (either, as in the case of the people's *shên*, through confusion of terms, or through the extreme homage and flattery paid to the emperor and his ancestors), and he is even regarded as the creator of the Universe and all that is therein. Thus, the emperor, really the son or descendant of *Shang Ti*, becomes *T'ien Tzŭ*, the "Son of Heaven" (not "Son of God"), and worships and sacrifices to *T'ien* and his ancestors at the Temple of Heaven (not Temple of God) in Peking. Nevertheless, the two terms have remained distinct to the present day, and, though much confusion has reigned in the minds of the Chinese regarding the matter from at least the Sung dynasty onwards, they do not regard them as identical. To suppose that the people

T'ien and Shang Ti.

[1] Whilst always insisting that they worship their ancestors, the people occasionally allege that they also "worship" (*i.e.*, venerate) *Shang Ti* and *T'ien*, but this is done, as the Chinese say, *ssŭ*, privately, and consists in paying reverence or extreme respect (*pai* or *ching*) and not in offering sacrifice (*ssŭ*). At most, any sacrifice offered would be of the simplest kind, such as the waving of a few sticks of lighted incense annually on New Year's Day. They in many cases assert, on being questioned, that this worship is a worship of spirits, but beyond this the worship of *Shang Ti* or *T'ien* (often confounded in modern times) seems to be more akin to the act of kowtowing to a sovereign than to the worship of God, as the term is understood in the West. Residents in China, though they see ancestor-worship being performed everywhere, do not see the people generally sacrificing to or even worshipping either *Shang Ti* or *T'ien*, and this worship must be regarded as infinitesimal compared with the earlier stage, namely, the worship of ancestors.

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could join in this worship of *T'ien* would be to make a great error: any attempt to do so would be punished with death. They worship their own ancestors at their domestic altars, and sundry other gods in their respective temples, and at New Year they may worship Heaven in the courtyards of their own houses (this worship, as stated above, originating in ancestor-worship), but neither *T'ien* nor *Shang Ti* is the monotheistic God of China, nor has either even been mentioned or nominated in the recent discussions as to the advisability of making Confucius the national god and Confucianism the national religion.

Animism not Primordial.

Those sinologists who, like Dr. De Groot, argue for the theory of universal animism as earlier than the theory of the ghost or other self, do so in the face of the existing evidence, and in contradiction of their own statement that the Chinese mind in early times was unable to form abstract conceptions. The Christian missionary, wishing to assimilate the beliefs of the Chinese to his own, in arguing for the priority of monotheism to the dualism of later times, unconsciously supports the ghost theory as primordial, for the alleged "monotheism" is proved to arise out of it, *i.e.*, out of propitiation of the ghosts of the dead.

Nature Worship.

But the Chinese worshipped other beings and things besides the spirits of their ancestors. They worshipped the sun, moon, and stars, hills and rivers, animals, reptiles, birds, fishes, insects, plants, and stones. Why did they do this? The *hun* and the *p'o* forming the soul, of which the former was good and ascended to heaven, and the latter evil and descended to earth, could, after separating from the body, re-enter and make it live again, or enter some other body—some object, animate or inanimate. Chinese literature is thickly sown with references to this habit of transmigration on the part of souls. The patriarch Shun, in the *Book of History*, is seen sacrificing not only to his Great

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Ancestor, but to the "hills and rivers." The worship of hills and rivers, though it has in many cases lost the external character of its original, may arise in several ways, all ultimately traceable to propitiation of the spirits of the dead. If the spirit of a dead person were supposed to have taken up its abode in a hill, confusion of name might lead to the personalization of the hill, to belief in descent from it, and to worship of it. Belief in descent from natural objects is met with among primitive races all over the world. The spirits of the drowned might be supposed to have their dwelling in the waters of rivers and streams, as we saw in the case of the drowned poet whose death gave rise to the Dragon-Boat Festival; while Wu Tzŭ-hsiu, who was drowned in the River Hsiu is worshipped by merchants going on a long journey. Only in later times did the waters acquire a further spirituality through the idea that the *yang* principle, descending from the sky in the form of rain, flowed down from the hills and circulated in the rivers. Did space permit, the same idea of personalization and worship might be shown to hold good with regard to the worship in China of the Earth, Sun, Moon, Stars, and other prominent objects of nature. I will close this section by a word or two on animal-worship, which has prevailed in all parts of the country from the earliest times to the present day.

Animal-Worship.

If one told a modern Chinese that a fox had changed into a bat, he would be neither amused nor surprised—but would take the statement as a fact. Not having studied in a scientific manner the metamorphoses so often brought to his notice, he would suppose such a transformation to be as natural as the oft-observed change of a caterpillar into a butterfly or an egg into a chicken. And the ancient, as well as the modern Chinese, was equally credulous as to the possibility of a man being changed into an animal. But what, in the latter case, took the place of the analogies he had observed in cases of the kind just referred to? Animals,

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such as foxes, snakes, lizards, insects, etc., which haunt graves and are seen to come out of them, or even out of the coffin itself, are looked upon as spirits of the dead man which have assumed this shape, in order to revisit their old home. Here we have the man, or at least his spirit or other-self, in the shape of an animal; but what reason is there, merely on that account, to regard it as an ancestor and to worship it? The son or surviving relative, though he may reverence the animal as being the embodiment of his father's spirit, does not believe the animal is his ancestor, because he knows that he is descended from his father who lies in the grave. Again, the explanation is to be sought in the domain of language. In primitive times, in China as elsewhere, surnames being non-existent, individuals are distinguished by some peculiar characteristic, a cunning man, for instance, being called a fox. Primitive language being too inefficient to make or preserve the distinction, descendants come to believe that their ancestor called Fox, for instance, was an actual fox. This ancestral fox is considered as having like passions with men, and to be propitiated in the same manner. Hence various ecclesiastical developments which need not be enlarged upon here. This theory of the origin of animal-worship, holding good as it does with regard to that worship in other parts of the world, finds abundant illustration and proof in all ages of Chinese history.

Men Changing into Animals, etc.

Instances occur everywhere in Chinese literature and folk-lore of alleged changes of men into animals, reptiles, birds, fishes, insects, etc., and *vice versâ*. Yao's minister, K'un, is changed into a yellow bear, Prince P'êng Shêng of Ch'i into a large boar, and so on, through case after case; there are man-tigers, man-wolves, man-dogs, man-foxes, man-bears, man-stags, man-monkeys, man-rats, man-horses, man-donkeys man-cows, man-swine, man-serpents, man-lizards, man-frogs, man-fowls, man-ducks, man-pheasants, man-ravens, man-rooks, man-crows, man-cranes, man-parrots, man-kingfishers,

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man-swallows, man-sparrows, and so on through the fish and insect tribes, down to man-locusts, man-ants, and man-bugs. The habit of nicknaming is exceedingly common in China—so much so, that there is a proverb that "a man without a nickname will never become wealthy" and in this list, which might be enlarged almost indefinitely, we see ample material for attributing to human beings qualities borrowed from the natures of animals. The evidence that the Chinese often regard themselves as descended from animals is overwhelming. There are numerous accounts of descent from snakes, wolves, bears, horses, and dogs. This comes out very clearly in the names given to the barbarous tribes which periodically caused trouble on the Chinese frontier, and which would therefore be regarded as having a ferocious nature, such as the "Dog Jung" or the Ti tribes, both of which were regarded as, and are explicitly stated in the Chinese records to be, the offspring of dogs. Possibly the descendants of the notorious "White Wolf," who in recent years ravaged several provinces, will in generations to come regard themselves as the progeny of a real wolf, as the Turks and Uigurs do now. Sometimes the presumed ancestorship is established in a more direct way, by actual sexual connection, such as that of a woman with a dog or snake, the offspring having the shape of human beings. Numerous instances might be given, but I must content myself with one which I have been able to verify personally. In the mountains about forty miles inland from Foochow, live some remnants of the aboriginal Chinese who stayed or were left behind when the great wave of the conquering invaders swept southward. They are regarded as inferior by the natives of the Fukien province, and their women are distinguished by wearing a large red head-covering of a style unusual in those parts. The legend[1] related to me regarding them was as follows: In the earliest periods

[1] A slightly different version is given in the *History of the Later Han Dynasty*.

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of Chinese history the country was much troubled by inroads of the Dog Jung tribes, who came from the west. As they could not be finally driven off, the king promised the hand of his beautiful daughter in marriage to anyone who would bring him the head of the chief of this barbarous tribe. All his warriors were afraid to attempt the deed, but the king's dog[1], who had overheard the conversation, went over quietly at night time, stole into the chief's tent, bit through his neck, and brought his head to the king. The latter was delighted at the death of his enemy, but when reminded of his promise, grew sad, and endeavoured to avoid its fulfilment by saying that, though the gallant deed should be rewarded in other ways, he could not be expected to marry his daughter to a dog. But the dog would not be satisfied with anything less than the king's daughter, and finally only relented so far as to obtain a promise from the king to allow him to be put under a large copper bell and not be looked at nor moved for eight days. This was done, but on the seventh day the king could restrain his curiosity no longer, and lifting the bell, saw that the dog had changed into a human being, all except his head. (Probably the dog-like person secluded himself and attempted to change his personal appearance, with only partial success.) The spell being broken, the transformation could not be completed; but the dog, now so nearly a man, insisted that, as this was the king's fault and not his own, he had a right to claim his daughter's hand. Accordingly the wedding took place, but the children being all born with such ugly, dog-like faces, were obliged always to cover them with a red cloth, supported by two light bamboo sticks, which their descendants may be seen wearing at the present day.

Once ancestrified, the worship of these animals is practically inevitable. Not only are they worshipped, but for

[1] Probably not an ordinary dog, but a menial of dog-like nature or appearance, for his mother is stated to have been an old woman.

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many temples are provided in which the worship is carried on. There are snake-gods and snake-gods' temples, horse-gods, cow-gods, sheep-gods, monkey-gods, lion-gods, tiger-gods, cat-gods, lice-gods, and innumerable others.

Animal Gods.

In the Later Feudal Period, during which ancestor-worship expanded so as to dominate and influence the whole national life, practically everything in heaven and earth being regarded as the abode of spirits, no other religion, properly so-called, arose. Taoism was as yet nothing more than a compendium of practices based upon the prevailing ideas concerning the human soul. Confucianism was a set of politico-ethical doctrines, professedly agnostic, but nevertheless containing views as to some things supernatural. It regarded heaven, earth, and the sages (*shêng jên*, men who through their good lives had become saints) as a triad of equal powers, but it professed no knowledge respecting the gods or a future state. Virtue and vice received their reward in this life, either in self or posterity. Man was composed of a visible body and a spirit, the separation of which was what we call death, but was not death in so far as the body might rise again if the spirit returned, and the spirit lived and might work good or evil according to whether it was properly attended to or neglected. Hence the necessity of ancestor-worship. And here we lose sight of Confucianism for a while, for it was temporarily annihilated in the fierce fires of the "First Emperor." It descended into the grave prior to its glorious resurrection.

Religion in the Later Feudal Period.

Though no curiosity was shown concerning the future life, divination was practised, first by means of markings on the shell of a tortoise and by drawing the stalks of reeds from a packet; later by the use of the planchette, oneiromancy, palmistry, kidney-shaped pieces of wood, and bamboo slips. Superstition was rampant everywhere. Strange

Divination and Superstitions.

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prodigies preceded the births of remarkable men. Lucky portents were required before building. Eclipses were dreaded, it being supposed that the sun or moon was being swallowed by a dragon. Animals influenced events. What is called in Celtic countries *Ciurp Creadh, i.e.*, the making of an image and maltreating it, was practised. Nevertheless, numerous though they were, superstitions were fewer than in Buddhist and later Taoist times.

Monarchical Period

Confucianism the State Religion.

As a result of the reaction at the beginning of the Han dynasty against the drastic suppression of culture by the "First Emperor," the ancient literature was not only restored to its former place, but almost became a religion in itself. At any rate, the religious elements it contained, and had transmitted from still more ancient times, were adopted as the state religion, and remained so for at least 2,000 years. The state religion was therefore the religion found in the Confucian classics, though it must be remembered that the classics were mostly not the work of Confucius, but principally collections made by him of earlier records. We saw that this religion was ancestor-worship. We need only add that the form which this ancestor-worship assumed was nature-worship together with some of the early direct worship of the spirits of the dead. The natural objects worshipped were heaven and earth. In modern times the former was worshipped by the "Son of Heaven," *i.e.*, the emperor, in person, on the night of the winter solstice, on the magnificent circular marble Altar of Heaven at Peking, and solemnity and grandeur were added to the ceremony owing to this altar being open to the sky, with nothing between the worshipper and the sublime object of his adoration. At the summer solstice, on a square marble altar to the north of Peking, the emperor annually offered sacrifice to the earth.

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Sacrifices were offered at the same time to the chief mountains, rivers, and seas. At both the worship of heaven and earth, adoration was also paid to the tablets of the emperor's ancestors erected on the right and left of the main altar in the temples of Heaven and Earth. Besides these "great" sacrifices, included in the state worship, other sacrifices were offered on various altars or in various temples in, or near, the capital, or by deputation in the provinces as well, at appropriate seasons. These were the "medium" and "lesser" sacrifices, presented in honour of the Sun, the Moon, the God of Agriculture, the Goddess of Silkworms or Weaving, the Five Great Sovereigns of Antiquity, Confucius and his disciples, and holy men and women distinguished for Confucian learning and virtuous living, gods of the sky (*i.e.*, clouds, rain, wind, thunder), the gods of the earth, seas, rivers, and streams, and the planet Jupiter. The third section embraced sacrifices offered by the officials to the patriarchal physicians of antiquity, namely, Fu Hsi, Shên Nung, and Huang Ti, the gods of war, literature, the North Pole, fire, cannons, walled cities, T'ai Shan or the Eastern Mountain in Shantung, water and rain, the ocean, the ground, architecture, porcelain-kilns, certain palace doors, gates, and storehouses in Peking, and lastly, to the souls of the departed in general. (Not much monotheism here.) The mention of Peking will, of course, have shown that this worship was not devised ready-made at the beginning of the Monarchical Period, but attained to its full development only in course of time. Generally, objects of worship which had been human beings were represented by images having that form, others by tablets inscribed with their spiritual titles. Contemplated as a whole, Confucianism must be regarded as characterized by utilitarianism and selfishness, founded, like most religions in their ultimate origins, on fear of the spirits of the dead.

Taoism as a philosophy concerns us not in this chapter. Taoism as a religion may be said to represent partly the

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crude attempts of the followers of Lao Tzŭ to supply the omission of Confucianism to satisfy the desire of the native mind for further information regarding the unknown, and partly an attempt to adapt Buddhism to Chinese civilization.

Taoism.

The history of Taoism has been divided into the speculative, dreamy, and adventurous stages. The doctrines known as the religion of Taoism were not the Taoism of Lao Tzŭ but the inventions of his later disciples. Lao Tzŭ taught only the religion of purity, humility, and rest, the doctrine of silent cultivation of spirituality and attainment of immortality by means of self-discipline. But the after-growth was of a different kind. Attempts to find the elixir of life degenerated into a species of alchemy. Lao Tzŭ was apotheosized as the "original ancestor" honoured of heaven, supposed to be an incarnation of some superior being such as Huang Ti, the great mythical sovereign of old (and alleged real founder of the magical side of Taoism), or an impersonation of the ultimate principle (*Tao*) by which all things were produced, and to show himself on earth periodically in human shape. His followers, like the Buddhists, and probably in imitation of them, had their Triad, the "Three Pure Ones," consisting of Lao Tzŭ, the "Ancient Original," and the "Spiritual Precious One," presiding in heaven among the assembled gods, the sun, moon, stars, etc., and promulgating benevolence and mercy to the lower world, where all who recited the sacred name attained to infinite happiness and deliverance from evil. The priesthood of the sect had dealings with the spirits, and impressed the people with their miracles. And there were gods many and idols many, with temples, rituals, and sacrifices, none of which existed before the advent of Buddhism. There were the Pearly Emperor, himself once a mortal, entrusted with the superintendence of the world; the city gods, one in every city, town, and almost every village, the god of the "Eastern Peak" (T'ai Shan), the goddess of the sea, the god of fire, the god of

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pestilence, the gods of heaven, earth, and the waters, the three brothers ruling the peaks of Mount Mao, the five holy ones who rescued people from sickness, the god of witches, who acted as mediator with them, the horse duke, in charge of their stables, the Western Royal Mother, wife of the Lord of the East, one of the first beings evolved out of chaos, the three corpse gods, who if not watched would betake themselves aloft to tell tales of mortal sin, the day and night recorders, the road gods, the white tiger god, the conscience god, who made men conscious of their sins, and the military official god, who made journeys to heaven and brought back all sorts of good things. All of these either were copies or adaptations of Buddhist deities or had their originals in men or women of earlier or later times. (Not much monotheism here.) Now waxing, now waning in favour, now less now more grossly superstitious, Taoism continued its practice of alchemy, its use of charms and amulets to obtain a hold on the people, its chanting and idol-worship, its alleged ability to remain outside the reach of those laws which affect the ordinary mortal, *e.g.*, to walk through the fire without being burned, pass through solid rocks, travel through the air enormous distances in a short space of time, walk up ladders of swords, and innumerable other feats, until in modern times it was always at least assured of a bare living, with a people to whom superstition was almost as the very breath of their life.

Cosmology.

Originally unconnected with either Taoism, Confucianism, or Buddhism, the chief cosmological theory of the Chinese may be referred to here, because, though purely philosophic in conception, its later form, which has taken firm possession of the Chinese mind, was the more definite one evolved by Taoist speculation. A set of figures composed of broken and unbroken lines, supposed to have been copied by King Wên, in the twelfth century B.C., from the markings on the back of a tortoise, is alleged to have formed the basis of the classical

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work known as the *Book of Changes*, the real meaning of the numerous combinations and re-combinations of these Eight Diagrams, or *Pa Kua*, contained in it being still undiscovered. From this the dualistic theory of the origin of the universe is said to have arisen. The universe at first did not exist. There was Nothing. Nothing in some unexplained way became Unity or the Great Monad (*T'ai Yi*) which for some reason or other divided into two principles, the *yang* and the *yin*, the one active, the other passive, the one positive, the other negative, light and darkness, male and female. Interaction of these two produced all things that were, are, or ever will be. The Taoists, or Rationalists as they were also called, put this theory in a less metaphysical shape in order to satisfy the craving of the people for the personal and concrete. Out of Chaos, or the *Ovum Mundi*, they say, came the first being, P'an Ku, either produced by it or chiselling himself out of it, and then proceeding to fashion the sun, moon, and stars, the tortoise to support the world when finished, the dragon, the phoenix, etc., a task which took him 18,000 years, after which he died, and his head became mountains; his breath, the wind and clouds; his voice, the thunder; his veins, rivers; his skin and hair, herbs and trees; his teeth, bones and marrow, metals, rocks, and precious stones; his sweat, the rain, and the vermin, which are supposed by the Chinese to be the result of perspiration, and which had during this time accumulated on his body, became the people who inhabit the earth!

Confucianism adopted an attitude of agnosticism as regards the origin of the universe, so there is no Confucian cosmology, and Buddhist cosmology belongs more to India than to China. That Buddha was a man, and that his worship is that of a god once a man, needs no showing. On its introduction into China, Buddhism took the side of popular superstition and Taoism against Confucianism. It at first accepted, on philosophic grounds, a belief in extinction, but, giving way to popular

Buddhism in China.

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sympathy, preached the doctrine of a future blissful state. Its apparent ability to supply the lack of certainty in the mind of the people respecting this future state and the nature of the gods, gave it an influence which an alien religion would otherwise have lacked. It enjoined obedience to its ten commandments, celibacy, contemplation, prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, the reward being the attainment of purity and serene Nirvana. In spite of its defects, its salutary influence on the Chinese nation cannot be denied.

Religion in Modern Times.

At the end of the Monarchical Period we find the same religions in China as at the beginning, *i.e.*, ancestor-worship, including that of animals, reptiles, plants, stones, etc., and the more specialized *san chiao*, "three religions," Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, besides numberless superstitions of various kinds, and some exotic religions, Mohammedanism, Shamanism, and Christianity.

Republican Period

Future Religion of China Uncertain.

Little remains to be said concerning the religion of China, since the ideas of the people regarding the supernatural and their attitude towards it have not been in any appreciable degree modified by the change in the form of the political government. But the present political structure not having yet proved its stability, the future of the state or national religion depending upon it is uncertain. Should the monarchical form of government be re-introduced, Confucianism will, in all probability, be adopted as the national religion; should the republican form of government continue, liberty of conscience will enable anyone to adopt the religion which promises the best satisfaction to his spiritual nature and the desire inherent in the human mind to know something of the Unknowable.

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GATEWAY OF YUNG HO KUNG, LAMA TEMPLE, PEKING

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KNOWLEDGE

Feudal Period

Superstition and Science.

If superstition and science are mutually antithetical, then, having seen how superstitious the Chinese are, we should not expect to find amongst them any great advance in the more definite and reasoned product of thought known as scientific knowledge. This supposition is found, on examination of the facts, to be justified. Not only is the scientific knowledge scanty for a life of 4,000 or more years, but it is wanting in heterogeneity, both generally in its divisions and specially in each division, it is not widely diffused, is indefinite, unorganized, and thrown altogether out of proportion by the huge growth of politico-ethical philosophy, which, becoming the recognized means to position and power and the acquisition of wealth by easy, if unethical, methods, left little inducement to anyone to cultivate the other branches of science. But in order that wealth might be acquired in this way, the people must be enabled to produce as much as possible from the soil, which was and is the chief source of wealth in China, and hence it was regarded as necessary to encourage the cultivation of astronomy in order to regulate the calendar, upon the correctness of which agriculture so largely depended. Sciences directly tending to prolong life or add to its safety and comfort, such as medicine, or to exalt and facilitate the life of the governing class, such as history, were patronized by the sovereign, but at no time was a knowledge of astronomy or medicine or history an aid to official advancement. There was thus little direct stimulus, but there was also, with increase in population, continually heavier pressure on the means of subsistence, obliging the people to devote themselves almost entirely to labours directly conducive to acquiring those means, whilst channels which might have brought knowledge to lighten those labours and open up new means of gaining a livelihood

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were closed by the practical isolation of the nation for the greater part of its existence. Some scientific knowledge was brought from the West, but though perhaps relatively great in comparison with the scientific knowledge self-acquired, it was absolutely of no great quantity in comparison with the body of knowledge from which it was drawn. The West has always outrun the East in science.

Amongst knowledge of this kind was some astronomical learning, which is recorded as existing in the earliest periods of Chinese history. The stars had been named, the length of the year and the order of the eclipses were known; observations of stars passing the meridian were made in order to fix the seasons; the zodiac was divided into twenty-eight constellations; the places of the sun and moon had been determined by their positions amongst the stars, and an armillary sphere and "observing tube" were in use. But there was a remarkable deficiency in the power of generalization, and astronomy was not free from astrological commixture, the sun, moon, stars, etc., being observed in order to foretell events, and the constellations supposed to control from on high the corresponding feudal states on the earth. The heavens were thought to be round like a canopy, the earth flat and square, measuring each way about 1,500 English miles, bounded on the four sides by the "four seas," and motionless, the sun, moon, and stars revolving round it with great rapidity. The sun was about 4,000 miles from the earth, the city of Lo being the centre of the universe. The earth was supposed to be supported on the four feet of a huge monster. The breaking of the "pillars of heaven" caused the earth to list to the south-east, the rivers to flow into the sea, etc. There was very slight knowledge of foreign countries, and that the earth was round and suspended in space was foreign knowledge not widely accepted. By their astronomical observations they regulated the calendar, making a year of 366 days, divided into lunar months, with

Astronomy.

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intercalary months, regulated by the natural recurrence of the seasons, and rude observations from year to year.

Mathematics.

The properties of the right-angled triangle are said to have been known to the Chinese eleven centuries before the Christian era, and to have been taught in the government schools. The references to arithmetical knowledge are scanty; it is variously stated to have been based on the "nine sections" of the mythical emperor Huang Ti, and to have been "explained" by the famous Duke of Chou, who designed a "multiplication table of nine," "the abacus being thus invented."

Medicine.

In medicine, a knowledge of the various properties of herbs is stated to have been derived from their tastes. Diseases were classified under the four seasons of the year, and treated accordingly as they were internal or external, or arose from "unguarded indulgence in eating and drinking." The action of the pulse, which indicated the proportion of the *yang* and *yin* principles in the body, and the effect of various articles on the different organs were recognized: acid things were supposed to rule the spleen, salt things the lungs, pungent ones the kidneys, bitter ones the liver, and sweet ones the heart. The crude ideas of physiological evolution are shown in the following passage from the writings entitled *Kuan Tzŭ*, attributed to *Kuan Chung*, a minister of the Ch'i State in the seventeenth century B.C.—

"When the five superior viscera were completed, then flesh was produced. The spleen could produce the diaphragm; the lungs, bone; the kidneys, brain; the liver, skin; and the heart, flesh. When the five [forms of] flesh were completed, then the nine passages of the body were formed."

Sedatives were used in 230 B.C., and acupuncture, with a stone needle, and cauterizing by burning the down of the *artemisia* resorted to 580 years before the Christian era.

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Jade and sulphate of soda were supposed to be capable of reinforcing the vital spirits, promoting long life, preventing the decay of the body, and even raising men to the ranks of the immortals. A form of mesmerism combined with massage and suggestion was much in vogue, but apparently abused, as it was afterwards prohibited.

Whilst still a philosophy, Taoism was simply a doctrine of transcendentalism with its ethical lesson for humanity.

Ethical Philosophy. Taoism.

Tao, the Path or Way, was a metaphor used to explain the unexplainable, the way in which, all things that are having evolved out of primaeval nothingness, the phenomena of the universe continue in this evolution, in peace and stillness, without striving or crying. Individuals and governments should follow the *Tao* and so reach their aims without effort, without fighting, without interfering with each other or trying to govern each other, by abstraction from worldly cares, freedom from mental perturbation, even without learning, for "the wisdom of men defeats its own ends." *Tao* operates by contraries, and its weakness is the secret of its strength. By following the path of rectitude in all humility, gentleness, and economy, and returning good for evil, there is reached the final re-absorption in *Tao*. Only by his followers, not by Lao Tzŭ himself, was it taught that life and death follow each other in endless succession, like the sequence of the four seasons.

Confucius's ethical doctrines dwelt chiefly on social duties having a political bearing; he preached a modified despotism, dependence, and subordination, maintaining that there is sufficient foundation in nature for government in the several relations of society, and that the art of government lay in an economical use of the revenues, a doctrine persistently ignored by the Chinese government throughout the greater part of its history. The "five cardinal relations" of sovereign and minister, father and son, elder brother and

Confucian Ethics.

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younger, husband and wife, friend and friend, gave rise to certain duties. Universal peace and happiness would result if the sacredness of those relations were maintained and the duties appertaining to them faithfully discharged.

Mo Tzŭ and Yang Chu.

In the century after Confucius, lived Mo Ti or Mo Tzŭ, who advocated "universal love"—to love all equally,—pleading in favour of universality and reciprocity in this affection based on utilitarianism. It was the duty of the sages by following this principle to effect the good government of the kingdom, and peace and happiness were to be achieved by the ruling class accepting this doctrine, acting up to it themselves, and insisting upon its fulfilment by the people. In opposition to this altruistic philosophy was the school of extreme egoism founded by Yang Chu in the fifth century B.C., whose tenets were summed up by Mencius as "Each one for himself." He was a despondent hedonist, representing that the pains of life outweigh its pleasures, that the supposed compensations of posthumous renown are a delusion, that we should "eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," and that there is no distinction between rotten bones. The sound common sense of the Chinese prevented them from giving allegiance to so crude an epicureanism, and Yang Chu found few champions of his philosophy.

Mencius.

Merely noting that there existed about this time a further ethical doctrine (though the existence of the philosopher himself is disputed) associated with the name of Lieh Tzŭ, transcendental in character and arguing for contentment in life and rejoicing in death, we come to Mencius (372–289 B.C.), the great Confucianist, who taught the inherent goodness of man's nature, commending the practice of benevolence and integrity. As elements in the national constitution he placed the people first, then the spirits of the land and grain, and then the sovereign. The regulation of agriculture and commerce would bring prosperity and education. He

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proved the necessity for division of labour, and for the conduct of the government by the cultured class.

After him came Chuang Tzŭ, an advanced Taoist mystic and anti-Confucianist, who also reasoned sophistically on ethics and social reformation. His main theme is the vanity of human effort, and the followers of Confucius and Mo Tzŭ the principal objects of his denunciations. That kingdom is best governed which is left alone. Reputation is but the "guest of reality." Though there is unreality in existence, life is a thing to be cared for, and this care is compatible with indifference to death.

Chuang Tzŭ.

The remaining principal philosophical doctrines of the time are those of Hui Tzŭ, a paradoxical writer, who argued that heat existed only in the experienced sensation, discussed the qualities of matter in relation to mind, etc., and of Hsün Tzŭ, who maintained the congenitally vicious nature of man, and the necessity of governing by physical force.

Hui Tzŭ and Hsün Tzŭ.

Monarchical Period

The deep impression made by the classical epoch upon the Chinese mind precluded much play of the constructive imagination in subsequent ages. The Monarchical Period is characterized by little progress and no epoch-making discoveries in science, except perhaps the compass and printing. The comparatively few changes of a progressive nature may be briefly recapitulated under their respective headings.

Little Advance in Science.

In mathematics, the Hindu processes in algebra were known in the Han dynasty. From this time onwards, works on arithmetic were exceedingly numerous. In A.D. 442, latitude was determined by measuring the shadow on the south side of a gnomon at the summer solstice. In the Sung dynasty, mathematics flourished, a native algebra was elaborated,

Mathematics.

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and study continued to be facilitated by the ancient principle of local value in arithmetical notation. In the Ming Period the use of the abacus spread over the whole empire, and has been general ever since, but up to the most recent times, though treatises on arithmetic were common, only practical mediocrity was reached in mensuration and trigonometry.

Chronology.

The primitive method of determining the duration of the national history by the lengths of the sovereigns' reigns, was replaced by a chronological scheme in which the old cycle of sixty was employed. The calendar was reformed and an annual almanac published (104 B.C.). The cycle was now used to chronicle years as well as days, and a duodecimal division of the day was adopted. In 445 a new calendar was constructed, and the sidereal distinguished from the tropical year. Observations of the movements of the sun and planets caused corrections in the previous estimates. In the T'ang dynasty, besides the adoption of a new calendar, artificial horizons and various contrivances for measuring time were in use. In the Sung, the solstice again began the year, and we read of clepsydras and other automatic instruments. It is interesting to note that at this time the calendar consisted of months of thirty and thirty-one days, and that after it fell into disuse through the adoption of the month of twenty-eight days, a prophecy was made that it would be re-introduced in a thousand years' time—which prophecy has now been fulfilled. Under the Mongols, beyond the usual corrections in the calendar, an elaborate water-clock and a bell and drum for striking the hour were used in Peking. The Mongols borrowed their cycle from the Chinese, and sunrise, etc., were now calculated from Peking. The Jesuits, under the Ming *régime*, continued to render great assistance in all branches of science, among other things reforming the national calendar which had got into a hopeless state of inaccuracy. The Mings had relied upon the incomplete

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Mongol system, but in 1643 the European method was adopted by imperial decree.

Chemistry.

In chemistry, the state of knowledge may be put in a very few words. The elements were supposed to be water, fire, wood, metal, and earth. They held a crude theory of the interaction of these five elements, but there was neither a minute analysis of them nor a wide generalization of results.

Knowledge of the epoch of Callipus and that the moon shines by borrowed light were brought from the West in the second century of the Christian era. Bronze astrolabes were used to observe the stars, and sunspots and "sun-shadows" recorded in 28 and 20 B.C. and A.D. 188. In 300–350 the precession of the equinoxes was discovered. Many observations of sunspots were accurately made. In 438 a steel orrery was constructed. Under the T'ang, the astronomical instruments were improved; eclipses were approximately calculated, and it was understood that comets were not self-luminous; but the heavens were supposed to pass through the sea, and the difference in the seasons was stated to be due to the distance of the earth from the sun. In 1580, European astronomy revolutionized the native theories, and the imperial observatory was placed under the charge of the Jesuits. The European system was officially adopted by the Manchus, but the native ideas remained vague and inaccurate. The sun and planets were still believed to revolve round the earth.

Geography.

Not being wide travellers, the Chinese did not acquire much knowledge of geography at first-hand. There was an office for map-making, but judged by later productions the results must have been crude. There was but slight knowledge of foreign countries, and only indistinct views existed regarding the antipodes. Officers were sent in the Han dynasty to trace the Yellow River to its source (but these attempts proved unsuccessful until the Mongol dynasty was established in China), and mention is made of

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Khoten. In the following period, some knowledge of the Roman Empire was acquired through the Hindus. In the T'ang time, cartography reached a high level and geographical treatises were numerous. An extensive triangulation was attempted, but with poor results. Under the Mings some geographical knowledge was gained from foreign sources, but even under the Manchus it was still crude, and maps were primitive.

In anatomy, medicine, surgery, etc., some indistinct ideas had been acquired as to the effect of the environment.

Anatomy, etc.

The nature of the various organs was little understood. Medicines of different kinds were in use and the effects of various fruits recognized. Anaesthetics were apparently invented during the Han dynasty; trepanning was suggested; and puncture with the needle and surgery continued to be practised; but though these, together with drugs and counter-irritants, were employed with professedly good results, medical knowledge was still rudimentary. The Caesarian operation, however, is recorded as having been performed in A.D. 285. Under the Sungs, much attention was paid to medical study, innumerable works on medicine and therapeutics being produced. The first work on acupuncture appeared, and in 1249 the first treatise on medical jurisprudence. The latter displayed considerable research, but partook of the superstitions of the time. A theory was formed as to the circulation of the vital fluid (*ch'i*); and we read of inoculation for smallpox and operations for cataract. The works mention 113 formulae and 365 kinds of drugs. Later, operations were performed whilst the patient was under the influence of hashish. All portions of animals and of the human frame were supposed to possess healing properties. The human body was not dissected, osteology was as crude as pathology and physiology, and even down to the most recent times disease continued to be ascribed to evil spirits, etc. The surface of the body continued to receive close attention,

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plasters, caustics, lotions, etc., being much in vogue. Surgical operations were tentative, the pulse was supposed to be an unfailing indicator of all symptoms, and medicines were mostly vegetal.

Ethics.

In ethics, under the Hans, man's nature was regarded as neither good nor evil. His development depended wholly upon his environment. Philosophical thought remained practically stationary for a long period (317–1034), but the Sung philosophers restored the Confucian ascendency. A materialistic school arose from the discussions raised by socialistic attacks on the prevailing Confucian dogmas. A Taoist cosmogony was introduced into the Confucian orthodoxy, and an attempt made to replace the physical aspects of the Han philosophy by ethical and metaphysical substitutes. The *à priori* method was employed without verification by appeal to fact or observation. In spite of a revolt against this philosophy in the early part of the sixteenth century, the Sung and earlier ethical systems were those prevailing to the end of the Manchu Period.

History.

In the Han dynasty history took a mature form. It was sober, conscientious, and free from supernaturalism. This character it sustained throughout, and has accordingly been eulogized by many Western scholars, though it lacked the more scientific methods of later times as seen in Western countries. Always voluminous, it began, under the T'angs, to be epitomized, but in the following period many large works were produced, and though they are not considered models of style, some showed independence in form and method of treatment. The Ming was the age of collectors and commentators, and of detailed study. The collection of details and chronicling of events remained the chief aim under the Manchus, recognition of the scientific nature of history being hampered by ingrained ideas of pre-ordination.

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Republican Period

Whilst the bulk of the nation retains the scientific or quasi-scientific ideas of the preceding periods, many modern ideas have of late years been adopted from Western countries, either directly or *via* Japan. The "returned students" and their pupils and those natives who are being trained in various branches of scientific knowledge in foreign institutions, or institutions run on foreign lines, form the new scientific class of the nation, which has little or no sympathy with the old classical learning, and, if given proper scope, is destined to exert a great influence upon the future of the teeming myriads of this vast country. It is as yet too soon to speak of results. If this influence is exerted for the good of the people, the nation cannot fail to be enormously strengthened, and made happier and more prosperous; if the new knowledge is to be used only as the old classical knowledge was used, as a means to place and self-aggrandizement, all history, science, and philosophy warrant the conclusion that the last state of this people will be worse than the first.

Adoption of Western Science.

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CHAPTER IX

LANGUAGE

MANY years ago, that eminent sinologist, the late Dr. Legge, in referring to a theory (which, however, is open to criticism on other grounds) maintained by Dr. De Lacouperie concerning the Western origin of Chinese civilization, stated that he refused to examine the argument further when he found that it implied the originally polysyllabic character of the Chinese language. It did not strike the learned doctor that when he said good-bye to the theory he was using a word which had gradually been formed by the coalescence into two of the four words, "God be with you," and that the reduction of polysyllables to dissyllables and then to monosyllables was a process of integration forming part of the evolution of language in general. This illustration may serve to make less startling my statement that the Chinese language was originally polysyllabic. It is the most ancient language now spoken, and one of the oldest written languages used by mankind. During successive ages both the written and spoken languages have undergone changes, but owing to the ideographic character of the written language and the absence of sound as an integral factor of the symbols, these changes have been few compared with what they would probably have been had circumstances kept it in a more plastic state and stimulated its further evolution. Nevertheless, in its earliest known stages, the language had already passed through its first phases and is seen, not in its polysyllabic stage, to a great extent forming its words by the addition of agglutinative elements, some of which may have had the function of cases, etc., and expressing grammatical relation otherwise than by word-order, but in a

Earliest Phases of the Language.

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monosyllabic, isolating, uninflected form, with its grammatical relations indicated by the position of the words or characters in the sentence. It is only from this stage onwards that materials exist for the study of its form and development.

Spoken Language.

When the comparatively small patriarchal group of Chinese immigrants first arrived in China, they must, of course, have been able to communicate with each other by means of an intelligible spoken language. The exact character of that language and the earliest changes undergone by it we have now no means of knowing. Various theories, of which that of the Turanian origin seems to be the least open to objection, have been formulated, but the solution of the problem must depend largely upon the as yet undecided question as to the origin of the Chinese themselves. As the Chinese spread over China they took their language with them. They settled in colonies, and became "provincial": it was only after the lapse of ages that the whole country was populated by them. These colonies had but little intercommunication with each other: some were cut off by mountain-chains, others by regions of jungle or marsh; others by broad rivers or aboriginal country inhabited by hostile tribes. As one result of this, the common language they had brought with them gradually underwent changes, until several broad distinctions could be observed which represented vernacular languages, and from these again sprang local dialects, differing very considerably from the common ancestor. If new words and differences of expression, many of which are quite unintelligible in England, can spring up in America and the British colonies, where communication with the Mother Country is constant, in less than a century, it is easy to believe that still more marked differences of language must have arisen amongst these early Chinese colonists where there was little or no intercommunication at all. Thus it came about that, though all the Chinese in China spoke Chinese, they could not all

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understand each other's spoken words, and cannot do so to this day.

Nevertheless, they had one means of communicating their ideas to each other. Before they left the northern region which had been their first camping-ground after their arrival in China, they had not only a written language but, in all probability, a certain amount of literature. By " written " and " literature " I do not mean words written on paper by means of pen and ink, but characters painted or scratched on the smoothed surfaces of pieces of bamboo or bark. These painted or scratched characters did not change, that is to say, they were the same for all the various colonists, and being the " written word," did not tend to alter in the same way that the spoken one did ; moreover, the existing written literature, like the weights and measures kept in a treasury, or the dictionary near at hand for consultation, constituted a standard for perpetual reference. Thus we have the Chinese able to communicate with each other all over the country by means of inscribed symbols, but not by means of spoken sounds beyond the range of their own particular dialect.

Written Language.

As already stated, the spoken language, as we first know it, was monosyllabic. To express an idea or to name a thing the Chinese uttered a sound in one breath. But they had more ideas than sounds to represent them. It is improbable that there was at any time a special sound for every idea or thing. At any rate, when we first meet with the spoken language, one of the characteristics which strikes us is the relative paucity of sounds compared with the ideas to be conveyed. The natural difficulty arising out of the comparatively limited play of the organs of speech in the Chinese race is one cause of this, and we shall note another later on. The result is that the same sounds have to do duty not only twice, but thrice or oftener, and each to represent more than

Speech Limitations Lead to " Tones."

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one idea. If there are a dozen men and only three names, Tom, Dick, and Harry, the least confusing arrangement is to call four men by each name. But how are we to convey to anyone which of the four Toms, for example, is meant? Not being able to invent any more names or sounds, the Chinese particularized the idea or thing from others having the same name or sound by adding to that sound a distinguishing intonation. This intonation is known by foreigners as a "tone," but the Chinese did not at first, nor for a very long time, recognize that he was making these distinctions in this way. Every intoned sound was to him though not in reality, a new monosyllable. Carpenters often use a tool composed of a handle into which differently-shaped points are fitted for different kinds of work. The handle was the monosyllable, the points the tones. But where did he get these tones? The answer to this question has proved a stumbling-block to an enormous number of scholars, and for the reason that, as is often the case, the obvious explanation is not the right one. The obvious explanation is that, when two words, through phonetic decay, had become so alike as to be homonyms, a tone was invented to keep the meanings distinct, and that, as the decay went on, more and more tones were required to prevent confusion becoming worse confounded. But that is not what took place. It was the natural development of the tone distinctions through the inability to invent new sounds that led to the carelessness of articulation and the multiplication of what without the tones would be homonyms.

Many Symbols few Sounds.

Besides communicating thoughts by means of spoken sounds, the Chinese communicated them also by means of written symbols. As with most primitive races, these symbols were at first rude pictures of the objects referred to. Every student of Chinese has seen his native teacher, when the student has failed to catch the meaning of a spoken word, hold out the palm of his left hand and, with the forefinger of

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his right, draw on it an imaginary picture of the written symbol for the sound he wished to convey. The act is similar to what the primitive Chinese did. Though they could not always convey their meaning by sounds, they could do so by means of the written symbol, and, though they could not always invent new sounds, they could easily devise new symbols. And, curiously enough, it was just these symbols which helped to check the evolution of the spoken language. The spoken vocabulary could only have been enlarged by the combination and fusion of the sounds represented by the symbols, but this process was checked at an early period by the rigid nature of the symbols themselves. And, as it was always easy to draw a new picture, these written signs continued to multiply, until at length they were numbered by tens of thousands. The names or sounds they gave to these pictures were, of course, the sounds of the spoken language, and, the latter being comparatively few, many pictures had to be called by the same name or sound; but as, even with the intonations, the sounds and intonations were not sufficient to give a separate one to each picture, the final touchstone was always the picture or written symbol itself. Thus, though we have a written symbol, we have not a separate sound for each idea or thing. Over 200 of those symbols are all called *chi*, over 100 *ching*, and so on; and though all the *chi* may be sub-divided into *chi* pronounced in the first tone, *chi* in the second tone, etc., that gives an average of about fifty to each tone, there being now in the north only four tones, though there were more in early times and are now in some of the other dialects. They increased from two to three in the time of Confucius, and from three to four by the middle of the fifth century A.D., the number now varying from four to "three tiers of three each," making nine, some Chinese even adding as many as three more.

The rude pictures or ideographs from which the written characters developed, are said to have been preceded by a

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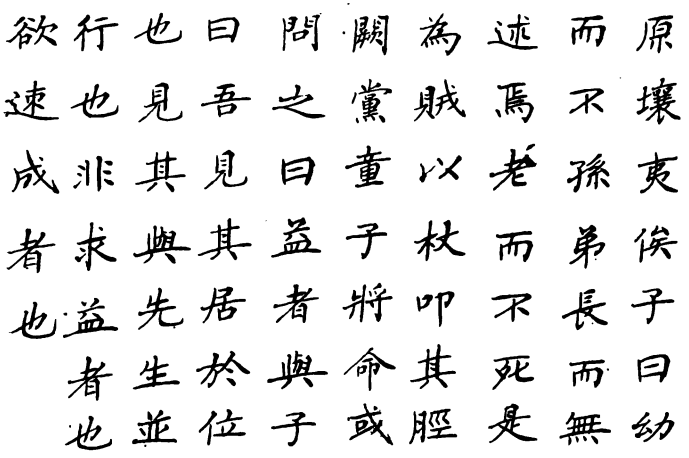
PASSAGE FROM THE CONFUCIAN ANALECTS

(Caligraphy of P'êng-Lai Mu, Junior)



"Yüan Jang was squatting on his heels, and so waited the approach of the Master, who said to him: 'In youth, not humble as befits a junior; in manhood, doing nothing worthy of being handed down; and living on to old age—this is to be a pest.' With this, he hit him on the shank with his staff.

"A youth of the village of Ch'üeh was employed by Confucius to carry the messages between him and his visitors [to teach him politeness]. Someone asked about him, saying, 'I suppose he has made great progress?'

"The Master said, 'I observe that he is fond of occupying the seat of a full-grown man; I observe that he walks shoulder to shoulder with his elders. He is not one who is seeking to make progress in learning. He wishes quickly to become a man.'"

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system of knotted cords, and another of notches on wood, for the purpose of transmitting ideas, but no traces of these remain. The rude outlines of natural objects which form the first known Chinese script underwent changes in course of time. Thus the sun, represented by a circle with a dot in the centre, was afterwards written as a square with a central horizontal line; a mountain represented by a drawing of three peaks, became three upright strokes joined across their lower ends by a horizontal one; and so on. But this simple process of expressing ideas each by its own ideograph became inadequate, and further symbols to express further ideas were formed by the duplication or combination of the first simpler symbols. To express the idea "bright," for example, the symbols for sun and moon were placed side by side. Thus we might in English write sun and moon together, thus:

Development of the Written Character.

and agree to call the new combination "bright," as the Chinese put the picture of the sun, which he called *jih*, with that of the moon, which he called *yüeh*, and called the compound *ming*, "bright." The relative position of the component parts might vary, *e.g.*, we might put "hill" above "stone," thus: $\frac{\text{hill}}{\text{stone}}$, and call this "cliff." In this way, by the combination of two, three, or more simpler components, complicated characters were produced. Nevertheless, this system was not of itself sufficient, as it was impossible by it alone to frame enough characters to serve the purpose of a written medium. So the Chinese devised a method, called the phonetic system, by which the characters in the language were divided into two classes—one comparatively small and definite and called "mothers of meaning," the other large and indefinite and called "mothers of sound." The number in the first class has varied from 554 to 214; that in the second is between 800 and 900. To take the simplest case, a character was formed by combining a "mother of meaning," or "radical," with a "mother

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of sound," or "phonetic," the result being such that the meaning of the character could be judged from the former and its sound from the latter. In this way any number of characters could be manufactured to meet any demand for the expression of new ideas. A character, for example, would be made of the radical for "rice," pronounced *mi* (in English, *me*), and the phonetic for "divide," pronounced *fên*, the combination meaning rice broken to pieces, that is, flour, meal, or powder of any kind, the clue to its pronunciation being found in the phonetic *fên*. These characters were symbols, non-agglutinative and non-inflectional, and were written in vertical columns, possibly from having originally been cut on strips of bark.

Grammatical Arrangement.

In arranging these characters into sentences, it was of course not possible to inflect them as is done with the words of a modern language. There were only a few grammatical form-words, and the expression of connected ideas rested mainly upon the order in which the words were placed. Neither the characters nor their sounds underwent any change when in use, and they could be employed to represent any part of speech, the meaning being gathered from the context. Apart from the grammatical context, the only distinction was between *shih tzŭ*, essential words, and *hsü tzŭ*, "empty" words or particles, the former being sub-divided into *ssŭ tzŭ*, "dead words" or nouns, and *huo tzŭ*, "living words" or verbs. The order of arrangement was subject, verb, direct object, indirect object; and modifying expressions preceded those to which they belonged, the adjective being placed before the substantive, subject or object, the substantive governed before the verb that governs it, the adverb before the verb; the incidental, circumstantial, or hypothetical proposition before the principal proposition, to which it attaches itself by a conjunction expressed or understood. Gender was formed by distinctive particles; number by prefixing a numeral; cases by position or appropriate

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prepositions. Position determined comparison; time was indistinctly expressed; and various devices were adopted to indicate names, important words, etc. The grammatical structure is illustrated by such phrases as "Men men" for "All men," "Laugh talk" for "Joke," "Go, not go?" for "Will you go?" "The light shines passage trees" for "The light shines through the trees," "The monster received my sword's cutting" for "The monster was wounded by my sword," "That which he said there were believers of" for "There were some who believed what he said," "There is no other way only must look at upper and lower text then know" for "The only way to tell is to look at the context," "This way see rise come" for "Thus you may begin to see," "The door-mouth has some women" for "There are some women at the door," "Wang, my use-man, very old true" for "My servant Wang is very honest," "Connect rice he also not eat" for "He does not eat even rice." Ambiguity of meaning was caused by absence of punctuation, and the various methods of economizing attention used in the West, both in the printed and written literature. To the foreign student of Chinese who has not given long and patient labour to mastering the spirit as well as the letter of Chinese phraseology, the various meanings to be got out of a single passage are often as puzzling as the sentence, "The submarine said the captain was 350 feet long" would be to an English schoolboy.

The Future of the Chinese Language.

The above sketch indicates in outline, devoid of elaboration and detail, the main features of the Chinese written and spoken languages. It is unnecessary here to go into technicalities, or to trace the variations in the number of the tones, modifications of sounds, styles of the written character, etc., which have taken place in the course of ages. During the last two centuries efforts have been made to substitute the *kuan hua*, or Court language, for the endless variety of local dialects existing all over the country. The

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"language proper" in common use throughout the north-west, though perhaps not the purest Chinese, is characterized by soft tones, absence of harsh consonantal endings, and prevalence of liquids and labials. With the increasing facilities of intercommunication, such as the extension of railway lines to all, even the remotest, parts of the country, some common tongue will become indispensable. Probably, if left alone, the people will solve the problem themselves as they have done in other countries, such as England, where mutually unintelligible dialects once existed and have not yet died out; but, rather than see the "abolition" of the Chinese language and the adoption of the somewhat *bizarre* suggestion to substitute for it the language of any other people, those who know and love the *kuan hua* and can appreciate the beauty and art of the written literature, would prefer to see these preserved and the former as universally established in China as the latter, until at least a satisfactory solution of the problem presents itself. The Chinese language, it is true, is stereotyped, uninflectional, aptotic, rigid; it is characterized by what are known in philology as "incoherence" and want of "agglutination" and "amalgamation," but it has its place and use in the process of China's evolution. It came into being primarily in order that Chinese might communicate their ideas to Chinese, and, having served that purpose for fifty centuries, has presumably done its work fairly well; but there can be no doubt that a hieroglyphic language is cumbersome and takes up, perhaps wastes, much time as a means of written communication. To bring about the evolution of the language into a more definite, coherent, heterogeneous, plastic thing would be a very difficult task. The evolution of both the spoken and written languages involves some very intricate psychological problems; or rather, not so much the evolution, for that is going on all the time, but the hastening of the evolution, if that is possible and advisable having regard to the nature of the language, in order to keep pace

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with the requirements of the age—to save the time of the nation and to facilitate the definiteness of the communicated ideas. It may be said that the Chinese can speak with or write to Chinese in Chinese, and Chinese can speak with or write to, say, English people in either Chinese or English, but the point is, how is this to be done in the quickest and most efficient way? It is the brain or mind which needs modifying, and that may in time be brought about by the better ways of thinking inculcated by the best systems of education.

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CHAPTER X

PRODUCTS

LANDWORKS

LIKE many other races during the early stages of their existence, the Chinese had to wage war with nature. The country they had settled in, the region in the neighbourhood of the Yellow River, was subject to inundation, and consequently one of the first duties of the rulers was to guard against the ravages of floods. The patriarch Shun, we read, deepened the rivers, and his successor, the great Yü, earned his right to sit on the throne by draining off a flood which has been compared by some to the one which caused Noah to build the Ark. If the description in the *Book of History* may be relied upon, and I see no reason to share the doubt which some writers have cast upon it, the state of things must have been pretty serious, for "the inundating waters seemed to assail the heavens, and in their vast extent embraced the mountains and overtopped the hills, so that the people were bewildered and overwhelmed." The method employed by Yü was to hew down the woods, deepen the streams and canals, conduct their waters into the rivers, and thus drain them into the sea.

Draining the Great Flood.

In subsequent ages, the landworks of the Chinese have consisted of works of excavation, such as wells, ditches, moats, and aqueducts; of levelling, such as roads; and of raising, such as wooden and stone bridges, suspension bridges, ramparts, walls, terraces, archways, etc. The most remarkable of many remarkable works are the Grand Canal and the Great Wall. The former was constructed by Kubla Khan in the thirteenth century to connect Cambaluc (Peking

The Grand Canal.

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with Hangchow, the former capital of the Sung emperors, thus ensuring safe transit for the products of the "natural granary" of the empire. It was opened for traffic in 1289, and one-and-a-half million measures of rice were transported to Peking by it during the following year. It was 650 miles long, varying in depth from thirty to seventy feet, the level being maintained by means of sluices and locks of rude construction. Owing to neglect, the increased employment of steamships, and the construction of railways, the canal is now comparatively inefficient.

The Great Wall.

Great as was this achievement in excavation, and aided as it was by the existence of some previous canals of comparatively short length and by utilizing rivers and streams where possible, the achievement of raising a structure like the Great Wall of China was greater still. Parts of this also existed previously in the shape of several shorter walls before Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, the "First Emperor," conceived the idea of joining them into one and thus forming a bulwark against the inroads of the "northern barbarians." It extends from Chia-yü Kuan in longitude 98° to the sea at Shan-hai Kuan in longitude 120°, and is 2,550 miles in length, counting all the spurs and loops, about 1,400 without them, and 1,142 in a direct line from end to end. In height it varies from fifteen to thirty feet, and its thickness is on the average twenty-five feet at the base and fifteen at the top. It is composed of earth and pebbles faced with large bricks, weighing about 50 lbs. each, supported on a coping of stone. The top is paved with bricks and defended by a slight parapet. At intervals throughout its entire length are towers, made of brick, usually about forty feet high, and forty feet square at the base and ten less at the top. The portion to the north of Peking, which runs down to the sea-shore at Shan-hai Kuan, is of comparatively recent date, having been built during the Ming dynasty in 1547, and is about 250 miles in length.

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No mention was made of the Great Wall of China by Marco Polo, the famous Venetian traveller, but, as pointed out by me in a paper in the Royal Archaeological Society's Journal in 1888, this may be accounted for by the decayed state of the old wall, and the newer portion not yet having been built when Polo arrived in China. I have seen the older portion of the Great Wall in several places, and its condition fully warrants the belief that it might be crossed by a traveller without any suspicion that he was traversing the site of a famous landmark. This view receives support from the statement of Gerbillon that beyond the Yellow River the wall is "mostly a mound of earth or gravel."

Marco Polo and the Great Wall.

Habitations

The earliest Chinese settlers in China lived in summer in huts made of branches, and in winter in artificial caves. The latter were probably excavated in the loess banks by the river-beds. The huts later on had walls, were thatched, with a ridge-pole and projecting roof, and were divided into more than one compartment, sometimes also having an upper storey. The palace of the king was more elaborate, but varied, and in Yao's time the low walls of the palaces and houses were not whitewashed, the pillars and rafters not carved, and the straw of the thatched roof not trimmed.

Huts and Caves.

Through various stages of growth and complexity, the dwellings of the Chinese have passed to their present forms. Before noting these, it will be as well to say a word or two about what is known as the "tent theory" of the origin of Chinese architecture, about which long controversies have raged without leading to any definite result. According to this theory, the form of the Chinese roof was copied from that of the Mongol tent, and it was further argued that the Chinese house, as a whole, was also a copy of the tent. But it has

The "Tent Theory" criticized.

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THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA

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not been proved that the Chinese ever lived in tents, nor that elaborate tents of the kind indicated were in use at the time when the Chinese arrived in China. Had they copied their houses from these tents, they would hardly have taken to living in caves and huts even till the houses were ready, for they might as well have built houses as huts. My own theory is that the shape of the Chinese house and roof are both traceable to the original cave-dwelling. The characteristics of a cave-dwelling are that it is open in front and not behind, and that as it extends it does so laterally, rather than behind the main apartment, in order that the new rooms may easily get light. Now, if we observe the simplest form of Chinese house, we notice that it has these same characteristics ; it consists of a back wall and two side walls, the open side in front being filled by a low brick wall supporting a framework (reaching to the roof) in which are set the paper windows ; and if it has other apartments, these are built out at the sides of the main apartment, and not at the back of it. But what about the roof ? In the loess cave-dwellings we notice a set of small boards stuck in the earth just above the door to divert the rain or drainage-water from the doorway. These are, according to my view, the prototype of the eaves. A cave-dwelling has no roof except the hill above it, and what could be more natural than that the Chinese, on leaving the cave-dwelling and building his own house, should imitate in the roof the sloping sides and rounded top of the hill ? This may also help to explain why, in building a house, the Chinese construct the roof and its supporting pillars first and put in the walls afterwards. Those who have opportunities of observing a large number of Chinese roofs cannot but be struck by the rounded top and the sloping sides of the roof, which closely resemble the shape of hills in Chinese pictures.

Though it is possible that, according to another theory, the curve of the roof may not have existed before the introduction of the pagoda, and may have been copied from the

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short curved roofs of those structures, I do not think there is sufficient evidence to show that, as is alleged, the roof was straight until the time usually stated by the advocates of this theory. The introduction of the pagoda has generally been referred to the sixth century A.D., but it is now known that the first pagoda was built in A.D. 249–50. If the early pagodas had straight roofs, and the house-roofs only became curved when the roofs of the pagodas did, that would be strong evidence that the curve in the roof of the house was copied from that of the pagoda. If the early pagodas had curved roofs, the Chinese, according to the theory, must have waited three centuries before imitating them. In any case, the "pagoda theory" does not explain the rounded ridge of the house-roof, and neither affects my main argument regarding the origin of the house and its roof, nor lends any assistance to the "tent theory."[1]

The "Pagoda Theory."

Four of these dwellings arranged facing each other round a square, form a "compound," this formation being doubtless adopted for purposes of protection. The typical ordinary Chinese dwellings have this shape, and when they are arranged along a street, the wall pierced for an entrance is, in the case of shops (and usually also in the case of private residences), the one contiguous to the street, the house on that side being used as the shop, and the other three as dwelling-houses and store-houses. In the central courtyard trees are often planted, and when viewing a city in summer from an adjoining mountain one is struck by the enormous number of trees, which make the city look as if it had been built in a wood or forest.

The "Compound."

Dwelling-houses were generally of one storey, except in those parts where, owing to varying causes, it was found more advantageous to extend them upwards rather than horizontally. There was no cellar or basement. Light was admitted through lattices. The better houses had stone foundations

[1] See note at end of chapter.

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and brick walls, the poorer ones walls of mud. Roofs were tiled. A slight ceiling usually concealed the tiling on the inside. Fronts of houses were mostly plain, but gateways were often elaborate. Chimneys, originally absent or rare, have become general. Corridors or verandahs were formed by the overhanging eaves supported by pillars, and often extended all round the inside of the compound. In the north, a brick platform (called *k'ang*), underneath which a charcoal fire was lit, was used as a bed at night and settee by day. Temples and public buildings were large and much ornamented, the pillars being often of great size, but without capital or base. The palace at Peking, as already noted, covered about one-sixth of the area of the city.

Description of Habitations.

Streets in the business quarters of towns were paved and, until within recent years, narrow and filthy; in the north, they were usually wider, unpaved, and less picturesque. Country-houses with their courts and gardens covered large areas, being often ornamented with fish-ponds, rockeries, flowering plants, etc. The houses of the poor were small, dark, and dirty, many mud and thatched dwellings being seen in villages and the suburbs of towns. Boats were used as permanent dwellings in many parts of the country, the floating population being enormous, especially in the south. Cave-dwellings continued to be used by millions of the poorer people. Of late years considerable improvement has been made in sanitary arrangements and the cleansing of streets; but unfortunately with modern ideas the red-brick house has also arrived, and threatens sooner or later to banish for ever the beautiful Oriental architecture which has hitherto lent so fascinating a charm to Chinese buildings, from the simplest dwellings to the most gorgeous palaces.

Streets. Country-Houses, and other Dwellings.

Food

The earliest inhabitants of China seem to have subsisted

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on wild fruits and the uncooked flesh of birds and animals, of which they drank the blood. Then the patriarchs taught the people the art of using grain as food in addition to flesh. From this time on the number and variety of foods, both animal and vegetal, increased, until the menu included almost everything edible to be found in the country, except milk foods, to which the Chinese constitution did not adapt itself. In the feudal days an ardent spirit was distilled from black millet, and a ferment extracted from rice and mixed with pepper became the habitual drink. But the latter was replaced as the national drink, during the period 264–80, some works say A.D. 317–419, by tea, which has held its own ever since, despite the importation of grape-wine from the West in the early centuries of the Christian era and the making of a large variety of wines by the Chinese themselves. In modern times, the proportion of animal food was small; the chief cereal foods were rice, maize, Italian millet, and wheat, with many culinary vegetables and fresh fruits, preserved fruits, and roots. Onions and a few spices were generally taken. Pork, fowls, and fish were largely consumed; mutton more eaten than beef; game, cakes, seeds, and shoots greatly relished. Tobacco-smoking was universal, and opium-smoking common until recently prohibited.

Primitive Food and Drink.

For China, as for other nations, the study of food is important as affecting largely the activity of the body, the acquisition of wealth and power, and the ability to resist external aggression. It is also important as a means of equalizing the sexes numerically. The matter goes to some extent in a circle, for, though the Chinese are largely vegetarian owing to the fertile nature of the country, they are so also very largely because seven-tenths of the population are too poor to buy meat foods in place of rice, a cereal which contains least protein and fat. It is a matter for experiment whether it would be to the advantage of the Chinese to eat more

Importance of the Food Question.

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meat foods, and if so in what proportion. The right amount for a full-grown average European is said to be one-sixth of the total quantity of food. But with the increase of meat foods there might come a desire for stronger drinks. Having abolished, or practically abolished, the use of wine, the Chinese have long been a sober race; but, injurious as stimulants are if taken habitually or even often, an occasional indulgence is demanded, in an imperfect world, by the labourer's monotonous life. This accounts for the use in every country of some such article as hashish, chica, kava, bang, pulque, soma, wine, beer, tea, coffee, etc. If the restoration of the balance after the day's work cannot be obtained through athletics, music, or similar means, it is a question whether the use of occasional stimulants is not to some extent justifiable, and whether their abolition would be wise until a more perfect condition of humanity has been reached, when the expenditure of energy will be more evenly distributed. If so, the re-assertion of the old Adam since the prohibition of opium in China by the use of morphia, cheap cigarettes, and alcohol bears a lesson which it would be unwise to ignore.

Clothing

Early Costume not Primitive.

On our first acquaintance with them, we find the Chinese fully clothed. There was, apparently, a time when they wore skins and garments made of feathers, and left the feet uncovered, but there is no record of them as "naked savages," as in the case of many primitive races. Their clothing seems to have reached an advanced stage at an early date. Silk was not in use for clothing before the Chou dynasty, the material chiefly used till then being hempen cloth. The articles of clothing were caps, shirts, trousers, lined gowns, ornamented girdles, stockings or gaiters, and shoes of various kinds. In the Chou time, the dress of the ruling classes was a long cloak of deep blue-brown silk, fixed on the shoulder

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and under the arms by means of strings. The sleeves were very wide and long, and were folded over the wrists like cuffs. The trousers were of cloth, and later of pongee, and had as yet no ornamental border. A shirt was worn next to the skin. The dresses and caps of various ranks were of different materials, colours, etc. Fur garments were worn in winter. The costume was completed by hairpins, girdles, stockings, and shoes, which were sometimes embroidered. The women wore trousers tied in at the ankles, covered by a long coat, shoes, and a veil or coiffure of a greyish colour. Broad rain-hats and rain-coats are also mentioned. Princes and other court dignitaries wore ear-plugs or stoppers suspended from a comb stuck in the hair, the idea being that they should listen to no improper sounds.

Modern Style of Clothing.

Though varying in some respects, the general style of clothing remained very much the same up to quite recent times. The full costume of both sexes was commodious and graceful. The fabrics mostly used were silk, cotton, and grass-cloth in summer, and furs and skins in winter, the principal articles of dress being inner and outer cotton or silk tunics of various lengths, with long and wide sleeves, and a pair of loose trousers tied in at the ankles, with socks and shoes. The latter were of silk or cotton, usually embroidered, for women's wear, in red or other colours. The soles were of felt, sometimes of paper with a rim of felt, with an under-surface of hide. In order to admit of ease in walking, the thick soles were rounded up at the fore ends, which caused the toes to be somewhat constricted. Hats of appropriate kinds were worn in winter and summer, the ordinary one being somewhat like a black skull-cap with a red knob on the top. The winter cap was turned up with a brim of black velvet or fur; the summer one being a cone of finely-woven filaments of bamboo. The pigtail or queue came from under the hat and hung down the back outside the tunic. Flannel underwear came into use with the richer classes, but in most cases

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numerous cotton undergarments were worn to obtain a sufficient amount of warmth. Gentlemen and officers always wore a long robe with the skirt slit at the sides, yet concealing the under-apparel. Women's clothing was similar, but more ornamented, and the coat was longer. They wore no hats and always made their own shoes. The outlines of the figure were not discernible in either sex. The Chinese regarded short and tight clothes as a sign of poverty, and as appertaining to the coolie class or to the "outer barbarians." Had the British, when they first landed in China, arrived in long garments, diplomatic intercourse would probably have been greatly facilitated, the attitude of the people more respectful, and the whole history of foreign intercourse different from what it has been.

Mistaken Adoption of Western Costume.

The costume of Western countries has, within the last few years, been largely adopted by the men, and to a less extent also by the women, in place of their own artistic dress. The queue has disappeared with the Manchu rule which had imposed it, the hair being now worn short all over the head as in the West. But though there can be no objection to this abolition of a badge of servitude, both utilitarianism and art are offended by the substitution for the graceful Chinese dress of the inappropriate Western style of clothing. Several years ago I wrote a paper entitled "An Unmentionable Reform," in which I urged that the Chinese costume had grown up as a product of its environment, and had not been made different from that of other nations out of sheer obstinacy—had in fact existed long before those costumes were thought of. I showed that in most respects it was the healthiest form of clothing for the climate of China, covering most of the parts which should be covered, though in the cold weather advantage would be gained by substituting fewer woollen garments for the numerous cotton ones piled on in order to secure warmth. The general adoption of the foreign style of clothing is as much a mistake as the growing

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adoption of the red-brick house. It is another instance of the evils of blind imitation.

Implements

Household Furniture.

I have no intention of enumerating, much less describing, in this and the following sections, all the implements and weapons used by the Chinese from the earliest times to the present day. I have done that elsewhere. But some classes must be briefly referred to because they are complementary to subjects dealt with in previous chapters. The articles of furniture in a Chinese house differed in some respects in the Classical Period from those used later on. The early Chinese had neither tables nor chairs in ordinary use. The place of the former was taken by mats spread on the ground, and around these they sat or squatted, sometimes on smaller mats. Low tables, four to six inches high, were provided as a mark of respect. They slept on couches or stands raised from the ground. Chairs were first used in the Han dynasty, and have been connected with the introduction of Buddhism. Tables, benches, and stools of various kinds are also mentioned in the literature of that time. The sofa was admittedly imitated from the "northern foreigner." Soon after this, the *chi*, stool, was distinct from the *an*, low table or bench. Bed-mats, mattresses, quilts, and pillows are also seen in use at an early period, but the pillow was totally different from that of the West, being a small, rigid, hollow case, of bamboo or rattan, often painted red and artistically decorated. In the Manchu Period we find that the principal articles of furniture were square wooden tables about three feet high, straight-backed wooden chairs affording little comfort, either bare or with thin cushions on the seat, couches (often large) or the *k'ang*, cuspidors, and often floor-matting. The best furniture was made of heavy wood, stained the colour of ebony. Mattresses and feather-beds were not used; and the pillow remained the

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same as before. The houses of the poor were but sparsely furnished, and even in those of the rich the furniture did not produce an air of comfort.

Food, in the Later Feudal Period, was taken out of bowls by means of chopsticks—the equivalent of the knife and fork of Western countries, though the Chinese had these also, as well as spoons. Though mentioned in earlier times, it is uncertain if chopsticks were then in general use. They served to convey the rice, cabbage, etc., to the mouth, meat, if any, having been cut with a knife into small pieces before being put into the bowl. A passage in a native work seems to indicate that the fingers were at first used in eating. Chopsticks are, after all, merely elongated fingers!

Eating Implements.

In the days of Confucius, and for several centuries afterwards, palm-leaves, reeds, and pieces of smoothed bamboo were the materials on which writing was done, the characters being either painted on with some kind of reed or small brush, or scratched in with a sharp stick or style, called a "writing knife," later on made of metal. These slips of bamboo were gradually superseded by a silk texture, silk and cloth being employed, and hair pencils made for writing, about the third century B.C. Ink and the inkstone are also mentioned, the former being made of soot or brick-dust. Under the "First Emperor," the important invention of the camel's-hair brush for writing on silk was made by a general named Mêng T'ien. Cotton paper may have been brought from India, but soon after the beginning of the Monarchical Period, according to the native histories, it occurred to Ts'ai Lun, otherwise Ts'ai Ching-chung, then magistrate of Shang Fang, afterwards a marquis, to manufacture paper from the "inner bark of trees, hemp-root, old rags, and fishing nets." From that time on, paper, the writing-brush, ink (now resembling sticks of India ink), and the ink-slab on which the ink was rubbed with admixture of a little water, have been regarded

Writing Implements.

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by the Chinese (as already noted in a previous chapter) as their "Four Treasures," or "Four Precious Things," of the writing table.

Weapons

Early Weapons.

The chief offensive and defensive weapons in the Feudal Periods were the bow and arrow, sword, battle-axe, spears of varying lengths and number of points, shields, and leather cuirasses. In the Chou period there were also fire-archery, the "flame-elephants," and "fire-oxen," referred to in describing the military system, and engines for hurling stones by means of machinery. The latter propelled a weight of twelve catties 400 yards. The Roman battering-ram had its counterpart in a huge beam slung from a massive framework moving on low wooden wheels, but the ballistae (of which fifteen varieties are depicted in the native literature), worked by a large number of men and discharging heavy projectiles to considerable distances, seem to have been more in favour as an offensive weapon. Besieging-towers and scaling-ladders were also brought into use. War-chariots gave great advantage against an enemy fighting on foot. War-junks are referred to, some with fighting-turrets and bridges. In defence, shields, painted with representations of ferocious animals, and helmets worn by the princes and regular troops, afforded protection. Mouth-gags prevented the warriors from letting slip any sounds which might be a clue to the enemy. Armour was mostly of rhinoceros-hide or wild-ox skin, and the cuirass now wholly or partly of metal. We read also of bucklers and horse-armour, mantlets of wood or leather hung over city walls as a protection against the battering-rams, and grappling-irons and "wolf-tooth strikers" for harassing the stormers.

One of the errors most frequently passed from mouth to mouth regarding the Chinese is that they "invented

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gunpowder." The truth is, the Chinese records state that "gunpowder came from the outer barbarians," and that the explosives previously used in Chinese warfare were not gunpowder but "thunderbolt projectiles" made of paper filled with lime and sulphur. When these fell into the water, fire burst from them, diffusing a dense vapour, which blinded both men and horses, "thus causing defeat to the enemy." "Fiery oil" and similar compositions were also used; but the existing evidence regarding gunpowder in China points to a partial knowledge of it derived from foreign sources in the sixth century A.D.; the throwing of inflammable projectiles, of which the name was the same as that given to modern cannon, having led to the misconception regarding its early use. There is no evidence to show that gunpowder was used in warfare before the middle of the twelfth century, nor even then with any propulsive effects; a knowledge of these effects coming to China only in the reign of the Emperor Yung Lo (1403–25).

Gunpowder.

During the greater part of the Manchu Period, the weapons remained for the most part of a comparatively primitive type: bows and arrows, matchlocks, swords, and cannon of antique pattern. The matchlock was of wrought iron, with plain bore and a long barrel, sometimes rested on a stock. The match was a cord of hemp or coir. The gingal was a kind of swivel, six to fourteen feet long, resting on a tripod. For purposes of defence, they had cuirasses of quilted and doubled cotton cloth, covered with iron plates or brass knobs connected by copper bands, helmets of iron or polished steel, sometimes inlaid, with neck and ear lappets, and shields of archaic pattern. During the last fifty years the more efficient weapons of Western countries have been gradually introduced, and have supplanted all the older kinds. The weapons, uniforms, drill, manoeuvres, fortifications, warships, aeroplanes, etc., of the Chinese are now those of the West, not of the East.

Weapons in Modern Times.

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Aesthetic Products

Architecture.

The simple dwellings of the early Chinese settlers, even those of the Great Yao and the other patriarchal chieftains, hardly warrant the application of the term architecture to their construction, but, when we meet with buildings to the construction of which that term may conscientiously be applied, we notice at once that there is no essential distinction between sacred and secular buildings. The temple or palace showed richness and dignity. The principal building imitated the form of heaven and earth in the circular roof and square base. The position of buildings indicated astrological influence. Generally the architecture was plain, geometrical, and practically useful, a large number of gates and pillars adding dignity. After the establishment of the monarchy, political rivalry led to rivalry in building, and many beautiful palaces arose, surrounded by pleasure gardens, the romantic element showing conspicuously in the architecture. In the palaces, galleries of roofs were supported by caryatides, the roofs of the audience-chambers rested on round pillars with straight simple mouldings at the top. Round wooden pillars stood on round stone bases. The roof is described as straight and tiled, the angularity of the ends of the upper roof-line being removed by large bricks deflected upwards and outwards to a point. On this roof-line were sculptured peacocks, monkeys, winged men, and birds. The first pagoda, as already noted, was erected in A.D. 249–50. They were often built without wood, and from this time onwards are found in increasing numbers. The pagoda evidently represents a series of circular or octagonal houses piled one on the top of the other. In the Sung dynasty, the idealism of Buddhist architecture commended itself to the native mind, and it was more extensively imitated at this than at other times. Political toleration favoured the mixing of styles, Hindu, Moslem, and new European architecture being seen in the sacred buildings of each religion. Under the Mings, Chinese

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art rose to its greatest height, and many fine specimens, of which one of the chief characteristics is substantiality, were produced. This is seen conspicuously in the tombs of the Ming emperors and the Temples of Heaven and Earth at Peking. The Manchus failed to maintain the same high level of excellence; the general type was undeveloped and strongly influenced by superstition. In large buildings, the effect was one of dignity, richness, and grandeur, but with small excellence in the parts, and colour seemed to be regarded as more essential than form; which principle, however pleasing in the lower grades of art, was in the higher not completely satisfactory, since the highest power of expression belongs to form and not to colour. Nevertheless, the architecture was pleasing, because truthful.

Sculpture.

Sculpture has never reached a high stage of evolution in China. It retained in large measure the primitive form of elaborated representations of the original effigy placed on the graves of the dead. Temples contained statues of great size and coloured, showing the image in many cases still attached to a background, a characteristic of earlier stages. Avenues of colossal monoliths placed as guardians in front of imperial and other tombs further indicated the relation of sculpture to the dead. Under Western influence in early monarchical times, mythological and historical scenes were represented on engraved marble slabs, but down to the most modern times statuary was chiefly confined to moulding clay idols, or carving animals for balustrades, temples, tombs, gate-sentinels, etc. Purely human statues were even now seldom separated from the background.

Painting, at first practically confined to the portraiture of the ancient sovereigns and the colouring of sacrificial robes, thus betraying its sacred origin, after passing through a phase when it occupied itself mainly with grotesque scenes and monstrous shapes, reached its highest excellence in the T'ang dynasty. It then showed greater freedom of conception

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and less minute mechanical formalism. Of the two schools into which painting was divided, the northern and southern, the latter was less trammelled by the canons of art to which the northern school rigidly adhered. Painters now, as before and after, were poets and musicians as well. Attempts were made to direct the artists to Nature as their mistress and model. The following period, the Sung, found the religious school of art sinking in sympathy with the disfavour shown towards Buddhism, and its 800 prominent painters did not leave so great an impress on Chinese art as the 300 of the T'ang epoch. There was a partial revival under the Mongols and Ming, but in the subsequent period a decadence, originating some centuries earlier, became marked, and Chinese art has never recovered from its effects. This decadence was due to a servile imitation of some celebrated master painters instead of a "faithful communion with Nature herself." At the present day we find few great names, and painting is still in a crude state, lacking blending and perspective. Linear and landscape drawing are primitive, and portraits expressionless.

Painting.

Poetry, like other aesthetic products, had a sacred origin, The oldest Chinese literature is in verse, and verse, by analysis of the ideogram representing it, was "the speech of the temple." And it was in verse that traditions were handed down before the age of writing. This primitive poetry was not devoid of measure and rhyme, but both lacked regularity, the lines being occasionally of all lengths and the rhyme subject to little rule, though these defects may be partly the result of a change in pronunciation. Generally it was simple in style, and the burden often melancholy. The classical poetry, artless and childish, was the poetry of nature, reflecting a peaceful life in folk-songs, simple in diction and showing much sentiment. These reflected the spirit of the pre-Confucian period; the age of Confucius produced no

Poetry.

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poetry brilliant enough to be preserved, and so enthroned prosaic literature that poetry hardly dared to show its head for nearly three centuries. The usual measure was the line of four words. Though the Confucian and following ages of prosaic thought were almost barren in this respect, much poetry, dealing with human feelings, duties and aspirations, was written after 312 B.C. This was the period of Art in poetry and it takes its rise with Ch'ü Yüan and his school. Ch'ü Yüan was the ill-used Minister already referred to, who wrote the famous *Li Sao*, "Falling into Trouble," describing the hopelessness of the search for the ideal, before drowning himself in the Mi Lo River. These poets devoted more time and effort to the composition of their poems: "there is a sustained attempt to complete an elaborate picture." The mythology and supernaturalism of the post-Confucian age were a powerful factor in the creation of this class, out of which grew the later schools characterized respectively by emotional and moral traits, chivalry and epicureanism, lamenting the shortness and suffering of life, and exhorting men to drown all thoughts of them in the "flowing bowl." But poetry, like painting, reached its apogee in the T'ang dynasty. This was for poetry also the age of genius. Its poets combined Taoism and Confucianism, with a mixture of Buddhism, in a newly created poetry, lyrical in kind and remarkable for its scepticism, which it is said raised literary art in China to a higher level than it had ever attained. Sentiment occupied in it a larger place than description, its salient characteristics being rapidity of transition, depth of feeling, exactness of metre and rhyme, and boldness of thought, combined with much artistic beauty in a small space. Since that time the poetic genius has been stagnant and the muse mute. The poetry of after ages, like the painting, has been largely imitation. Perhaps in the domain of human thought, as sometimes in nature, large mountains imply deep valleys.

Literature may be said to begin with the Classics. It

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consisted of collections of poetry, early history, treatises on philosophy, constitutional matters, rites and ceremonies, principles of government, the psychological sources of human conduct, and the principles of filial piety. Their style was terse. The principal other works of the Feudal Period dealt with the art of war, the correct use of terms, Taoism, the nature of man, etc. After the fires lit by the "First Emperor" had died down, literature sprang out of the ashes with renewed vigour. The classical works were recovered or rewritten from memory. The new writings of the period were of a varied character: masterly memorials on military operations and the value of agriculture, treatises on government, ethics, philology, acupuncture, music, restorations of classical texts and commentaries on the Confucian classics, esoteric and exoteric speculations, biographies, etc., but the common lodestar was Confucianism. The art of writing history may be said to have begun with Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's *Historical Record*—the first history on a general and comprehensive plan—forming the model for subsequent works. This is a history of China from the earliest times to about 100 B.C., in 130 chapters, containing 526,500 words. Much attention was also given to lexicography, and writings of the kind called "Individual Collections," containing the original productions of single authors, made their appearance. Besides this native literature, many Buddhist books were brought from India and translated.

Literature.

In the period which witnessed the highest flights of painting and poetry, literary activity was stimulated by the invention of printing. The classical and general literature continued the tradition of the Hans. Marvels, histories, satire, classical and Taoist texts, and divination, formed the subjects of numerous treatises, but the greatest advance of the period, which also witnessed the birth of popular literature, was made in lexicography. In the Sung time, the first encyclopaedia

Effect of Invention of Printing.

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was issued, and since then numerous gigantic works of that class have made their appearance, one of the Ming Emperor Yung Lo's reign being probably the most voluminous book ever compiled. Its title was *Yung Lo Ta Tien*. It was in 22,877 books, the table of contents occupying sixty books more, the whole containing about 500,000 pages. The edition, however, was limited to three copies, for, owing to its size, it never got beyond the manuscript stage. None of these copies is now in existence. Another, the *T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng*, a work of the more recent reign of K'ang Hsi, is in 1,628 volumes of 200 pages each, and profusely illustrated. In the Mongol Period, besides the usual voluminous contributions to classical literature, there appeared a minute work known as the *San tzŭ ching*, or "Three-Character Classic," a school primer containing a summary of the principal events in Chinese history in 560 words arranged in rhyming lines of three words each, which continued to be the educational text-book for more than 600 years. Novels and historical romances, as distinct from fables and short stories, now began to be written. These were produced also in large numbers under the Ming dynasty, when works of a comprehensive nature, including histories and cyclopaedias, continued to be compiled. The Ming literature, copious and correct, was less original and varied than that of the Sung period. Scientific works were issued under Jesuit guidance. During the Manchu *régime*, the books produced treated chiefly of history, topography, poetry, classics, philosophy, and the literature, as before, was pure, though popular fiction was wanting in tone and crude in execution.

Drama.

In the Feudal times, there was no drama proper, but there were theatrical representations connected with religious observances designed to drive away evil spirits. They consisted of processions of masquers, fierce in appearance, accompanied by strains of weird music. The drama is first seen as poetry set to music, its basis being sketches of songs, between which

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the story of a play is introduced. The poets vied in producing pieces which would stir the feelings of the audience. With the rise of the great T'ang dynasty we note the origin of the drama proper as distinguished from the pantomime of previous ages. There is some reason to believe that it may have been borrowed from India or Persia. Its history in China is divisible into epochs coinciding with the T'ang, Sung, and Yüan dynasties. In the plays the actors described themselves, the unities were disregarded, and the licence as to time and space was greatly exceeded. The plays were interspersed with poetic stanzas. Increasing in productive power during the Sung dynasty, the drama, though it never reached a high standard, attained its highest level under the Mongol *régime*, when it was cultivated by literary people of both sexes to the exclusion of other departments of literature. Its tone was sound; its tendency on the side of justice and morality. The subjects treated were chiefly of a historical or domestic character, with a fair proportion drawn from mythology and fable. The manners of the age were vividly depicted. Scenery was absent, the prologue in dialogue, often intermingled with verse. Dramas were usually divided into four or five acts irrespective of the incidents of the play. With the return of the Chinese to power after the close of the Mongol epoch, the drama lacked intelligence and became obscene, and never recovered its former high tone, though it still retained a faint trace of its primitive sacred character, theatrical performances being generally given as an expression of thanksgiving, *e.g.*, for a good harvest, or seasonable rain. At the present day, though degenerated, the plays, simple, direct, realistic, and wanting in incident, individuality, and imagination, have still an ethical purpose.

A good description of a Chinese play is given by Mr. William Stanton in his book on *The Chinese Drama*. The contents of the green-room give an idea of the costumes worn—

"In this room, on tables, are various coloured pigments and pencils which the actors, while standing in front of small mirrors, use to make

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up such beautiful or horrid faces as their parts require. Around the walls or suspended from hooks are masks, false beards of various colours, false wigs, and false ladies' coiffures [worn by men, there being no women actors]; strange caps and helmets, such as have been worn at various periods during the last three thousand years; high thick-soled boots and shoes, to increase the stature of their wearers; swords, spears, tridents, maces, bows and arrows, and other old-fashioned implements of war; fly-flap-like magic wands for the use of fairies and other supernatural beings; patched and ragged clothes for the poor and mean, and, in large boxes, sumptuous and beautifully embroidered robes of state for the rich and honoured, such as real princes might be proud to wear. . . . Since the acting of historical dramas relating to events that have occurred during the Manchu rule is forbidden in China, the magnificent court dresses are in the style of previous dynasties.

"The opening performance of a company begins with the *Pa Hsien Ho Shou*, the congratulations of the Eight Immortals. In this, actors representing the Eight Immortals, or Genii as they are sometimes called, chant their congratulations and invoke blessings on the audience. After their exit a man representing Kuo Tzŭ-i enters and performs what is called *Tiao Chia Kuan*, or the dance for official promotion. In this the actor goes through a saltatory performance with a mask on, to express his wish that the officials may have such good fortune as to enjoy such wealth, long life, and honours, as did the great minister he is supposed to personify. This Kuo Tzŭ-i was one of the most renowned generals China has ever known, and he served with distinction four successive emperors of the T'ang dynasty. . . . If a high official enters in the midst of a performance, the play is suspended while the *Tiao Chia Kuan* is danced.

"On the exit of the last-named, an actor representing Tung Yung enters, and to him another representing the Immortal Lady, or, as she is styled, Celestial Lady, who presents him with their son. This is founded on the legend that a fairy lady inhabiting one of the stars in the Pleiades, in order to show her appreciation of Tung Yung's filial conduct, at the time of his father's death, visited him nightly under a large tree, and, her visits resulting in the birth of a son, she brought him down and left him with her mortal lover. Tung Yung subsequently attained a high rank in the empire. This scene is to stimulate youths to filial conduct, and, although they may not hope for sons to be brought to them from the sky, they may aspire after the high official rank that every Chinaman so greatly desires.

"When the stage is again clear, eight *Tiao Tien Chiang*, or Dancing Celestial Generals, enter, and caper around setting fire to crackers and burning an incense that causes a dense yellow smoke. The idea is that the smoke forms clouds to obscure the stage from the eyes of the gods, so that they may not see and be offended at the presumption of mortals in personating them and imitating their acts, and even performing deeds they themselves might not think of.

"After the Dancing Generals have formed their cloudy screen and left the stage, the more serious business commences with the *Liu Kuo*

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Fêng Hsiang, the Six States appointing a Prime Minister. The play represents occurrences of three centuries before Christ. . . . In those days, although the supreme rule was nominally in the hands of the Chou King, it was really usurped by princes of feudal states, who contended amongst themselves for supremacy. Amongst the various states, the Ch'in was most active in grasping after that universal dominion which a century later it acquired, under the powerful but execrated Prince Chêng, the First Emperor.

"At the period the drama treats of, the renowned statesman Su Ch'in displayed great activity in going from one principality to another, with the object of forming an alliance against Ch'in, the state to which he had first offered his services. He finally succeeded in his aims, and the princes and great ministers of the six confederated states met and appointed him their Prime Minister. The alliance did not prove a lasting one, however, and the great minister eventually fell by the hands of assassins. After his death each of the six states claimed his body, and, as they could not all obtain possession of it in its entirety, it was divided amongst them.

"Most of this piece is chanted by several voices in unison, like a glee or chorus. It affords scope for a splendid display of dresses, and, therefore, from a spectacular point, ranks first among their plays.

"At its conclusion the proper order of procedure is to sing three selected short Pekingese operatic pieces, which are followed by tumbling. Then the less routine business proceeds with a selected historical drama, followed by a farce, which ends the day performance [which has lasted from 11 a.m. perhaps to 11 p.m.]. The night commences with a domestic drama, or a continuation of the day piece, and is concluded with a farce. This carries them on to six or seven o'clock the next morning."

Dancing.

Dancing in the early times, as later, was represented by a kind of solemn posturing or step-dancing, forming part of the religious worship. Divided into "civil" and "military," the dances were executed to the sound of music, the dancers holding a feather in the right hand, and a flute in the left. This remained the only kind of dancing up to modern times, with the exception of some private dances associated with convivial occasions, though some pantomimic dances and acrobatic performances, in which the dancers dressed in the skins of wild animals transformed themselves rapidly from one animal shape to another, danced upon upturned naked swords, and walked on tight-ropes, were introduced by Indian gymnasts in the sixth century A.D.

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Music was cultivated as a special study based on the system of twelve notes separated by hemitones, *i.e.*, the twelve *lu* or pitch-pipes. It was intimately connected with the religion and constitution of the State, though probably, like that of later times, wanting in variety and completeness. The chief instruments were the reed-organ, flute, lyre, pipes, drums, wooden tapper, sonorous lion, earthen egg-pipe or ocarina, bell, sonorous stone, twenty-five-stringed lyre, etc. Their compass did not extend beyond one octave, and they were tuned by ear. After going through several phases and acquiring some new instruments, music, in the T'ang dynasty, divided into sacred and secular, was stimulated by the drama, and ballad music came into use. Modern Chinese music dates from this time. The imperfection of notation for instrumental purposes necessitated the invention of a new notation for every kind of instrument. The time-marks probably came in with the *kung-ch'ih* or *sol-fa* system introduced in the Sung dynasty. Harmony continued to be rudimentary, consisting merely in the simultaneous use of the eight kinds of instruments which sounded well together. The melody only was written. To the present day, music has made little, if any, progress, and remains in a comparatively primitive condition.

Music.

The aesthetic product which, at least in its ordinary English form, takes its name from China, whereof the various types have been noticed under the heading of Arts, is a pleasing example of sustained independent talent, and one in which China preceded the West by 2,000 years. If aesthetic products are for the exaltation of life, China, through the marvellous beauty of her porcelain must have contributed very largely to the happiness of humanity. In form and painted decoration, these products exhibit an endless variety. The favourite subjects are the mythical dragon, the mythical unicorn, or *ch'i lin* (kylin), the spotted deer, and domestic fowls and other birds. The earliest existing form of porcelain, as

Porcelain.

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distinguished from pottery, is the soft sea-green glazed ware of the Sung period known as celadon, now extremely rare. A peculiarly oriental type is the crackle ware, in which the glaze appears to be separating from the body. In the period when porcelain reached its highest excellence under the Emperors K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung, the ruby-glazed ware (*sang-de-bœuf*) and *famille rose* decorations appeared, and have not their equal out of China, and in China only in the exquisite blue and white, most prized of all, and rivalling in beauty her own most beautiful skies.

Note to Page 278

The origin of the curve in the roof is easily explicable, apart from any foreign influence. When the primitive Chinese left their caves and began to live in huts they used branches of trees to make the roofs. These branches, running from the ridge pole to the eaves, even with the clay or other material employed to make them steady and less likely to be carried away by strong winds, would sooner or later sag in the middle, thus producing the curve, which some authorities say has always existed in Chinese architecture. This curve would be reproduced later on in the tiled roof, partly for artistic effect and partly because of the superstition that water is another form of money, and that if it flows away quickly the owner's money will be spent quickly. The ribbed roofs, which also have the curve, seem to be best explained as being an imitation of the split hollow bamboos turned alternately upward and downward so as to prevent the rain from getting through the crevices.

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